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IT
POPE

A
T O U R
THROUGH THE
SOUTHERN AND WESTERN TERRITORIES
OF THE
UNITED STATES
OF
NORTH-AMERICA;
THE
SPANISH DOMINIONS
ON THE RIVER MISSISSIPPI,
AND THE
FLORIDAS;
THE COUNTRIES OF THE
CREEK NATIONS;
AND MANY
UNINHABITED PARTS.

By JOHN POPE.

MULTORUM, PAUCORUM, PLURIMUM, OMNIUM, INTEREST.

RICHMOND: PRINTED BY JOHN DIXON.

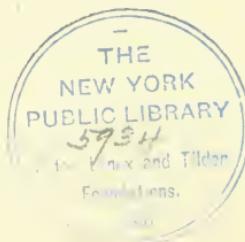
FOR THE AUTHOR AND HIS THREE CHILDREN, ALEXANDER D.
POPE, LUCINDA C. POPE, AND ANNE POPE.

M,DCC,XCII.

13.

Checked
May 1913

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FOR
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T O T H E
P U B L I C.

EVERY Man who commits his Sentiments to public Criticism, whether his Motive be Honor, Interest, or other Consideration, will be supposed to hope for Public Patronage, or Applause. But the Man who shall servily condescend to obtain Success; who shall by debasing himself, attempt to elevate or exalt another, deserves not private Regard or Public Favor.

The Author of the following Sheets, is strongly impressed with these Sentiments, and altho' he feels as all Authors must do, who commit themselves

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to the World: Altho' he knows many great and respectable Men, whose Friendship would please him, and whose Patronage would do him Honor; he prefers to obtain their Assentation to his Labors, as the voluntary Effusions of their own Hearts, than as the Tribute to his Flattery or Solicitation. Thus thinking, none will blame, thus acting, all will applaud, who are admirers of the native Independancy, which is the Birth-right of Man.—

Inaccuracies will, in this Work, probably obtain, but let the Reader reflect, that it is the genuine Offspring of positive Observation, taken sometimes on Horseback, sometimes on a Stump, but always in Haste, amidst the Hurly Burly of uninformed and generally Indian Companions.

A TOUR,

A
T O U R, &c.

ON the first Day of *June*, 1790, I took my Departure from the City of *Richmond*, with an Intention of visiting the Western Regions of *Kentucky*, and exploring the Spanish Dominions of *Louisiana* and the two *Floridas*; as also the Territories of the *Creek* Nation, now under the Governance of *Alexander M'Gillivray*, Esq; who from the concurrent Approbation which he hath merited and received from the whole Nation, may, with Propriety, be said to hold imperial Power, having many Kings and Princes subordinate to him.

How far I have succeeded in the Exploration of those Countries, the Reader will determine from a candid Perusal of my Journal.

June 10th. Contracted a violent Rheumatism from wetting my Feet, in an Attempt to cross the *Rapedan*, which retarded my Pro-

gress for about eight Weeks in the County of *Culpeper*; where the Humanity and Politeness of Col. *John Thornton* and his Lady mitigated my Distress, and ultimately restored me to my pristine Health and Vigour. This Gentleman, as well as his Brother *William*, possesses a rare mechanical Genius, and to which he hath superadded a practical Knowledge in Medicine and Surgery; the Advantages of which, his poor Neighbours often experience with Tears of Gratitude.

Some Years since, the Assembly of Virginia voted a Premium to Mr. *John Hobdy*, for his Invention of a Machine, which he submitted to their Inspection, well calculated for the Purposes of beating out Wheat and other small Grain. Col. *William* hath improved upon *Hobdy's* Invention by constructing a Water-Mill, which without the Aid of animal Exertion, shatters out and prepares more small Grain of any Kind in one Day, than *Hobdy's* can in one Week. With this Mill alone, he speedily prepares his Flax and Hemp for Market or the Distaff. It is a Model well worth the Attention of every opulent Farmer, or of those who raise large Crops of Flax and Hemp.

August

August 10. Crossed the *Blue-Ridge*, and halted for three Days at *New-Town*, within about eight Miles of *Winchester*. This flourishing little Town I think, bids fair to eclipse *Winchester* in a few Years, or, be connected with her by a lengthy Village: Its Locality gives it a decided Preference to *Winchester*, as being in a fertile Neighborhood, and nearer to Mills, Iron-Works and the future Navigation of the *Shenandoah*.

From this Place I made some few Excursions into the Country, particularly to the Houses of Colonels *Zane* and *Thruslon*; the former of whom possesses a greater Originality of Thought, Speech and Action, than any other Gentleman I ever was acquainted with.

*O'er many Waters he hath been,
And Knowledge great acquir'd,
From reading Books as well as Men,
For shining Parts admir'd :
From ev'ry great Metropolis,
He some Instruction draws,
By ascertaining its Police
Of Manners, Customs, Laws.*

He is the Proprietor of the Iron-Works, which, under his judicious Management yield an amazing Profit. All the Works which are very complex, are driven by the Water if-

fuing from one Spring, whose Source is not above a Quarter of a Mile from the Spot.

August 14th. Found myself happy in the Family of the sensible, humane and generous Col. *G. M. Thruslon*, whose public and private Characters will bear the strictest Scrutiny. His late Display of unparralled Generosity to a distressed, though reputable Family, will be enrolled in the Court above; and from the recording Angel, instead of a Tear, extort an approbative Smile. This Gentleman at an early Period of the War, laying aside his facerdotal Habit, appeared at the Head of a Regiment in Defence of his injured Country. His Achievements in the Field, his Wisdom in Council, and the general Tenour of his Conduct, through the various Scenes of Life, do him Honour, and claim from a grateful Country its warmest Acknowledgments.

On this Gentleman's Farm I obferved about an Acre of Ground well befet with *Jerusalem* Artichokes, of a most luxuriant Growth; the Colonel told me that he was confident the Production would exceed one Thousand Bushels. To this Vegetable, Swine and horned Cattle of every Description, particularly Sheep, are surprisingly attached—I do not discover it to
be

be any Way inferiour to the Garden Artichoke
for Table Use.

August 17th. Arrived in *Winchester* much relaxed from the Heat of the Weather, and whilst lolling on a Couch, was saluted by a Mr. *John Welch*, who had served in my Regiment in the Capacity of a common Soldier during the last War. With great Self-Complacency he informed me, that since the War he had been prosperous in Life, had acquired a snug little Retreat in the Country, and then had a large Drove of Cattle within four Miles of the Place, which he meant to dispose of to the *French* emigrants then stationary in *Winchester*—that he wished to go back, meet the Drove and hurry them into Town, least others might supplant him in the Sale; but that he had sent his Horse to the same Pasture where his Cattle were, so that he should be under the Necessity of going on Foot, unless he could beg, borrow or steal a Nag to ride that small Distance: Mr. *Welch*, I am happy to hear of your Prosperity, and you are entirely welcome to the Use of my Horse to ride that Distance—Sir, you are very good, and I'll embrace your generous Offer, and on my Return this Evening give myself the Pleasure of Dining with you. I fear some Accident has happened to Mr. *Welch*, as I have neither seen him, the
Horse

Horse, Bridle or Saddle from that Hour to this! In this Situation, on a Journey with 180 Miles in Rear, and 500 in Front, I began like *Strap* to moralize, with only this Difference, he said "A Fool and his Money is soon parted;" I used the Word Horse instead of Money.

During my Continuance in *Winchester*, I was frequently in the Company of General *Morgan*, whose Character as a Military Man, is held in high Estimation even by his Enemies—Possessed of an easy Fortune, he now enjoys all the Sweets of Domestication, and the Heart felt Pleasure arising from a conscious Rectitude. He is fond of the social Pleasures, and will sometimes in his gayer Moments, amuse the Company with Narratives of martial Feats, and how Somebody, and who it was, that plucked the Laurels from fierce Tarlton's Brow.

September. Hearing that the *Monongalia* and *Ohio* were innavigable, I resolved to spend my Time until they should rise among my Friends in *Berkeley* County, which for its Temperature of Air, Salubrity of Baths and Fertility of Soil, justly claims the Preference of every other County in *Virginia*, but less so of *Frederick* than the rest, whether for the Properties

Properties already mentioned, or the Hospitality and Independence of its People in general.

I paid a Visit to Mr. *Charles Washington*, the Brother of our beloved President, where I had the Pleasure of seeing a most affectionate Meeting between him and his Sister, attended with several Female Relations from *Fredericksburg*. Mr. *Robert Rutherford*, a Member of the *Virginia* Senate was also there, and contributed much to the Clearfulness of the Company, by singing several most excellent and sentimental Songs. I am indebted to this Gentleman and Mr. *Washington* for furnishing me with a joint Letter of Introduction, to some of the most reputable Characters in *Kentuckey*: Messrs. *David Gray* and *Moses Hunter* are among the number of those who have imposed Obligations on me.

October. Pursued my Route through *Shepherd's Town* and *Martinsburg*, two flourishing little Towns. At the former I saw General *Gates* and his Family on their Way to *New-York*, and at the latter, General *Stephen*, who observed that the Triumvirate was now entirely dissolved, alluding to Generals *Lee*, *Gates* and himself:

Whom

*Whom Dame Fortune in a merry Mood,
Concenter'd in one Neighbourhood ;
Evincing well, that Birds of Feather,
Always chirp and flock together.*

Began to ascend the *Alleghany* Mountains in Company with old Col. *Shepherd*, who observed that for many Years he had made it an invariable Rule to take a hearty Drink of Grog at a Spring near the Road-Side, where the Eastern and Western Waters very amicably take their Leave of each other, intimating that we and our Western Brethren ought to do so likewise. I shall not undertake a Description of a Sixty Miles Passage over those *Alpine* Hills, but content myself with saying, that I passed through the Shadow of Death—saw General *Washington's* Intrenchment at the Meadows, and undismayed, rode over *Braddock's* Grave. From the Western Side of *Laurel* Hill, on a pleasant Evening, I was ravish'd with the Prospect of Beeson Town and the circumjacent Country. Ten Miles from Beeson Town lies the Old Fort, at the Junction of a small Stream, called *Redstone*, and the *Monongalia*. At this Place we were detained about a Week, experiencing every Disgust which Rooks and Harpies could excite.

October.

October. Went on Board a *Kentucky* Boat in Company with three *Danville* Merchants, and a Mr. *Fooley* from the State of *Maryland*, and in Twenty-three Hours reached *Pittsburg*. The last mentioned Gentleman from his Singularities and Fooleries merits a minute Description, which, however, I am at a Loss to give. Suffice it to say, that Mr. *Thomas Fooley*, of a very reputable Family in *Maryland*, is about six Feet three Inches high, and every Way disproportionate in his Shape and contradictory in the Lineaments of his Face, which at first View excited a Resibility in the most serious Beholder. The Deformities of his Conduct vie with those of his Person. It was sometime last Month that Mr. *Fooley* eloped from his Lady, under an Apprehension that she was preparing through the Medium of her Friends an Instrument of Writing for him to sign, whereby a considerable Part of his Fortune was to be vested in the Hands of Trustees, subject to her Controul. To this Mr. *Fooley* was utterly opposed—However, previous to his Elopement he left her an unlimited Power of Attorney, which he delivered into the Hands of his Overfeer. At *Redstone* he disposed of his elegant Horse and Furniture for an old Brafs Watch, which has the Property of being right

right once in every Twelve Hours: Notwithstanding this, Mr. *Fooley* is a Gentleman of Refinement, being both a Philosopher and Politician, with some Knowledge of Astrology and Palmistry.

Oetztber. Apprehending a Return of the Rheumatism, I resolved to await the Event in *Pittsburg*, where I could be comfortably lodged and duly attended; I staid ten Days. Here I saw the celebrated *Hugh Henry Breckenridge*, Author of the six political Sermons in the beginning of the War, and of various other Traits since—He had been lately married to a Miss *Sabina Wolfe*, Daughter of an old *Dutch* Farmer in *Washington County*—The Circumstances of his Courtship, Marriage and subsequent Conduct I shall relate, with some slight References to the Person, Temper and Disposition of the Man.

Mr. *Breckenridge* on his Way from *Washington* Court, called in at Mr. *Wolfe's* to have his Horse fed and escape a Rain which was then descending. The Horse was fed, the Rain had subsided, and Mr. *Breckenridge* to avoid wet Feet, ordered his Horse to be brought to the Door; Miss *Wolfe* was directed to perform that Office.

*Nut brown were her Locks, her Shape was full strait,
 Her Eyes were as black as a Sloe ;
 Milk white were her Teeth, full smart was her Gait,
 And sleek was her Skin as a Doe.*

These Allurements made a deep Impression upon the susceptible Heart of *Breckenridge*—He prevented her in the servile Office, mounted his Nag and off he went. He had not gone more than a Sabbath Day's Journey, (for such his really was) before his Horse, at the Instigation of the Rider, turned short about and revisited Mr. *Wolfe's*. A familiar Application was made to the old Gentleman for his Daughter, which he considered as nothing more than Pleasantry in Mr. *Breckenridge*, for which he is so remarkable. Mr. *Breckenridge* declared that he was serious, that his Intentions were honourable, and that this future Happiness rested on the Event of his then Application. Miss *Sabina* had been employed in Shrubbying the old Man's Meadow, which saved him the annual Expence of about ten Dollars. This with him was an insuperable Objection to parting with his Girl—Mr. *Breckenridge* obviated the Difficulty by paying down a Sum of Money, obtained the Young Lady's Consent, married her, and sent her to *Philadelphia*, where she now is under the Governance of a reputable female

female Character, whose Busines will be to polish the Manners, and wipe off the Rusticities which Mrs. Breckenridge had acquired whilst a *Wolfe*.

As an Introduction to an Acquaintance with this Gentleman, I composed, incloſed and ſent to him on the Evening of my Arrival, the following hasty Production, which without my Knowledge or Consent, he had inserted in the *Pittsburg Gazette*.

*To H. H. BRECKENRIDGE, Esq; on his being
fairly NOOS'D.*

*THY great and independent Soul did tow'r,
And from the faireſt Stalk ſelect the Flow'r :
Which in the Wild unknown to public View,
In mild Pudicity ſo sweetly grew.
SABINA learn ! It was not giddy Chance,
That led fair Merit up to high Advance ?
No, 'twas Heaven which open'd on his Eyes,
When Love and he first view'd thee with Surprise.
The Matron ſhall e'er long by him be taught,
To ſpeak and act aboon the vulgar Thought.
His plaftic Hand ſhall fashion and ſo mould,
And turn as 'twere, thy unwrought Ore to Gold.
That neither in Idea nor Romance,
Or in Metropolis of poſh'd France ;
Shall any Dame be found to equal thee,
In Manners soft, and true Gentility.*

Thus

*Thus augur I of thee, oh pureless Dame,
Whose Conduct soon shall swell the Trump of Fame.
And well evinc'd when form'd on Wisdom's Plan,
Who can reward and soothe an honest Man.*

In Company with this Gentleman I viewed the Fort and neighbouring Eminencies of *Pittsburg*, which will one Day or other employ the historic Pen, as being replete with strange and melancholy Events. The Town at present, is inhabited with only some few Exceptions, by Mortals who act as if possessed of a Charter of Exclusive Privilege to filch from, annoy and harrass her Fellow Creatures, particularly the incautious and necessitous; many who have emigrated from various Parts to *Kentucky* can verify this Charge—Goods of every Description are dearer in *Pittsburg* than in *Kentucky*, which I attribute to a Combination of pensioned Scoundrels who infest the Place.

“ *Some Men in Pow'r and Trusts, have made
The one Hand with the other trade ;
Gain'd vastly by their joint Endeavour,
The right a Thief, the left Receiver ;
And what the one by Tricks forestell'd,
The other by as fly retail'd.*”

HUDIBRAS.

B

Was

Was a *Spaniard* to reside among the *Pittsburgers* only one Week, he would be apt to exclaim in the Words of *Quevedo*:

*“Menca la cola el Can,
No por ti sino por el Pan.”*

TRANSLATED.

*‘Tis not for thee ; but for thy Bread,
Tray wags his Tail and shakes his Head.*

November. I proceeded down the *Ohio* in Mr. *Beall's* Boat, which was a moveable Fortification ; having about one Hundred and Fifty Salt Pans so arranged, as to render a few Men within, capable of repulsing ten Times their Number without. Nothing materially occurred—We had a tolerable Passage of five Days and Nights down to *Limestone*, a little Town, situate on the Banks of the *Ohio*, at the Mouth of *Limestone* Creek, where Emigrants from *Virginia* and all the Eastern States most commonly debark. Leaving this Place, I passed on in a direct Route through the most fertile Parts of *Kentuckey*, by *Washington*, *Bourbon* and *Lexington* Townships to *Danville*, the present Metropolis of the District. In this Place and its Vicinage I continued about a Month, experiencing every Civility and Hospitality which so remarkably charac-

characterize the People. The Topography of *Kentucky* is foreign to my Purpose, as Mr. *Filson* and others have treated that Subject with great Candour and Precision. Mere Occurrences, and the most conspicuous Traits of Men and Manners, are the principal Objects of my Investigation. General *Wilkinson* and *Scott* are too generally known both at Home and abroad, to require any Eulogium from me : I shall, therefore, wishing them every Prosperity, proceed on to *Louisville* and its Neighbourhood, and rouse up Gen. *George Rogers Clarke*, who, the *Kentuckians* say, hath actually been in a profound Slumber for upwards of four Years, without the least Symptoms of Wakefulness whatever.

December 15th. Arrived at his House under an Apprehension that he had forgotten me. He immediately recognized me, and without Ceremony, entered into a familiar, though desultory Conversation, in which I was highly pleased with the Atticism of his Wit, the genuine Offspring of native Genius. On serious and important Occasions he displays a Profundity of Judgment, aided by Reflection and matured by Experience. I cannot dismiss this Gentleman without observing, that some few Years since he shone forth in all the Glory of military Prowess.

He appeared from his Plans and Successes to have possessed an intuitive Knowledge of the Manœuvres and Designs of the Enemy, having in no Instance out of many concerted his Operations injudiciously.

At *Louisville* the first Object that caught my Attention was the ludicrous Mr. *Fooley*— Having exhausted all his Cash, he had exchanged his fine long tail'd broad Cloth Coat for a Sailor's coarse Jerkin, which reached within four Inches of the Waistband's of his red Plush Breeches—He had swapped his Beaver for a coarse high crown'd narrow brimm'd Wool Hat, which he thought expedient, though contrary to all Precedent, to throw into a smart triangular Cock ; by the last Exchange he gained a round Half Dollar Piece. In this Garb, our Hero fraught with consummate Impudence, set out in Quest of Adventures. As he had been a Fellow Traveller in a strange Land, I could not help remonstrating with him upon the Impropriety of his Conduct, which, however he endeavoured to defend, by observing that his then Appearance was in Honour to the Memories of Mr. *Sterne* and Lord *Verulam*.—For Sir, added he, Mr. *Sterne*, hath written expressly on the Subject of Jerkins in these Words, “A Man's Body and his Mind, with reverence I speak it,

it, are exactly like a Jerkin and a Jerkin's Lining—Rumple the one, you Rumple the other :" And as to my Lord *Verulam*, " *Smell-fungus* in his History of *England* represents his Lordship's Chappo, as similar to what now covers the Noddle of your humble Servant."

In the Neighbourhood of *Louisville* I continued upwards of two Months; those with whom I associated, were affable and humane : The Stranger here may consider himself as at Home—for such is the extreme Hospitality of the People, that unknown to their Guest, they will confer, or rather impose Acts of Beneficence, which cannot be refused without Rudeness.

March 4th. 1791. Proceeded down the *Ohio* in Company with a *Frenchman*, who was taking his *American* Wife and Children along with him to *Langue la Graisse*, or, the *Greasy Bent*; now called by the *Spaniards* *Neuvo Madrid*, on the Western Side of the *Mississippi*. The Governor of *Pensacola* says, that the Etymology of *Langue la Graisse* originates from the Rivers forming an extensive Curve; where, upon the first Settlement of the Place, great Quantities of Bear-Meat were stored up for the Use of the Garrison and
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the *French* and *Spanish* Navigators up and down the *Mississippi*, which Meat is of a very oleose Quality; though in my Opinion, the Greasiness of the Soil, with the Devexity of the River, sufficiently justify the Epithet.

During our Passage from *Louisville* to this Place, we were frequently alarmed at the hostile Appearance of Indians on both Sides of the *Ohio* and *Mississippi*; suspecting our Numbers to be superiour to their own, they were deterred from coming against us in Force; which had they done, we should have fallen Victims without a Possibility of Escape to their merciless Barbarity.

March 12th. 1791. Breakfasted and dined with *Signior Pedro Foucher*, Commandant at *Neuvo Madrid*. The Garrison consist of about Ninety Men, who are well supplied with Food and Raiment; they have an excellent Train of Artillery, which appears to be their chief Defence—Two Regular Companies of Musqueteers with charged Bayonets might take this Place. Of this Opinion is the Commandant himself, who complains that he is not sufficiently supported—He is a *Creole* of *French* Extraction, of *Patagonian* Size, polite in his Manners, and of a most noble Presence. On the Evening of this Day embarked

barked in a Boat called the Smoke-House, bound to *New Orleans*, and anchored on the *Georgian* Shore, about Thirty Miles below *Madrid*.

13th. Setting at the Vessel's Head I espied about a Dozen Fowls as large as *Muscovite* Ducks, of a bluish grey Colour, with remarkable short Necks, the Name of which no one on Board knew, as never having seen any of the Kind before, though they had long been accustomed to the Navigation of the *Mississippi*, and visited most Parts of the habitable Globe. An *Hibernian* on Board swore that from the shortness of their Necks they were either *Cygnets* or young *Cranes*; for that the old Ones had Necks ten Times as long.

14th. The Trees on the Margin of the River in Verdue. At 9 o'Clock encountered a Congeries of Aiots and passed the first *Chickasaw* Bluff, where the River is about Five Hundred Yards wide—At 12 o'Clock we lost Sight of *Monsieur*'s Boat in a strong Gale of Wind—8 o'Clock at Night one of Mr. *Craig*'s Tobacco Boats, with Forty Hogsheads of Tobacco, and a large Quantity of Flour and Plank passed us whilst we lay in Harbour, she had lost her Rudder and sprung a Leak

a Leak. In this Situation, with only three Hands on Board, they implored our Aid, which through prudential Motives was denied.

15th. At Sunrise espied the *Frenchman's* Boat in good Harbour and uninjured; but different was the Fate of Mr. *Craigs*, which had sprung a Leak in her Bow and appeared to be stranded opposite to the second *Chickasaw* Bluff, where the River is about Four Hundred Yards wide. At 9 o'Clock we viewed the third *Chickesaw* Bluff, opposite to the *Bayone St. John*, where the River is not quite Four Hundred Yards wide. The Colours of this Bluff are white, red, yellow, blue, grey, black, brown, purple, &c. Here the *Chickasaws* once had a small Pottery—Upon this Bluff is the most eligible Situation for a Town which I have as yet seen on the Banks of the *Mississippi*.—Just under this Bluff, within six Feet of the Shore, a first Rate Man of War might ride in Safety, unassailed by Winds, &c. At the upper End of this Bluff is an old Blockhouse, built by a Captain *Besheare's* Company, who had the Convoy of military Stores for the *Chickasaws*, which they deposited therein, until they could procure the Assistance of additional and fresh Hands. From the lower End of this Bluff,

Bluff, the River suddenly opens to the amazing width of four, five and sixth Miles. Upon Examination, I find our Crew consist of one *Irishman*, one *Anspacher*, one *Kentuckean*, one Person born on *Sea*, one *Virginian*, and one *Welchman*; six Total. At 12 o'Clock came on a violent Storm, which with Difficulty we evited, by exerting every Nerve to gain the Shore.

March 17th. 1791. The *Irishman* in Honour of St. *Patrick*, purloined all our Brandy, Sugar and Eggs to make a Tub of Egg-Nog, of which he drank so copiously, that whilst at the Helm, he insensibly run the Vessel into a strong Eddy, to get her out of which, employed all Hands in hard Labour the Balance of the Day.

March 18th. At Sunrise came on a slight Snow, which formed a curious Contrast to the Verdure of the Trees—All the Afternoon of this Day we run due North.

19th. At 8 o'Clock we run due South— All this Day the Weather was intensely cold, the Wind blowing from North. About Noon six *Indians* of the *Chactaw* Nation came on Board and presented us with two Strings of jerked Venison for which we in Return gave

them six Pound of Bacon and a Peck of Salt, which they pronounced to be very good. At 1 o'Clock we were hailed by a *Pennsylvanian* and a Lad in a *Peroch*, laden with Bear and Buffaloe Meat, taken on the St. *Francis* River, and bound up the *Osarque* River, where there is a Settlement of Thirty Families about Thirty Miles from its Mouth. At 3 o'Clock overtaken by two Boats laden with Flour and Tobacco.

20th. At Sunrife drew up a Kitten of about Twenty lbs. Weight, which with the Help of GOD and an *Irish* Cook, we made into most excellent Broth. At 9 o'Clock came up with two large *Pittsburg* Boats at Anchor laden with Flour, on the Shore, opposite to which, was a Concourse of *Osarque Indians*. An old Man among them was in Mourning, having his Face blacken'd over with a Com-mixture of Bear's Oil, Charcoal and Turpen-tine: Just under his Jowls were two Streaks of red and white, which ran parallel to each other—The *Indian* Ladies very innocently displayed their Navels, and the curious Eye might have explored other Parts which civilized Nations industriously conceal. Twenty Miles up the *Osarque* River are their Wig-wams, opposite to which, on the Eastern Side, is a *Spanish* Garrison of Twenty-nine Men—

The

The Place is high, well watered, and as yet the Garrison have experienced no Sicknes.

21st. At 8 o'Clock descrid a Keel bottom'd Boat with a square Sail, bound to *New Madrid*—Her Progres under a fair Wind was at the Rate of two and a half Miles per Hour, which might have been accelerated by the Addition of Oars. At ten o'Clock entered a narrow Part of the *Mississippi*, where it is not more than Two Hundred Yards wide. At 12 o'Clock discovered another Keel bottom'd Boat, destined to the same Place with the former. At Sunset, three of Mr. *Craig's* Tobacco Boats came up with us whilst we lay in Harbour, the fourth being still under the Command of the Rear Admiral, whose Intrepidity hath often endangered his Vessel by opposing the poor *Planters* and *Sawyers*, who have taken up their Residence in this spacious River. It is shrewdly suspected that the Rear Admiral will be tried by a Board of *Dons*, so soon as he makes the Port of *Natchez*.

22d. At Sunrife, espied a Vessel of General *Wilkinson's*, under the Command of Captain *Swaine*, bound to *New Orleans*—At 8 o'Clock we had in View six Sail of the Line.

23d. At 12 o'Clock we ran North Westwardly—Here the *Mississippi* forms on the *Spanish* Side an exact Resemblance of an Horse Shoe.

24th. At Break of Day espied the Walnut Hills about ten Miles below the *Yasous* River, which his Catholic Majesty limits as his Boundary, and below which, his Vicegerents say, that Citizens of the *United States* shall not inhabit, unless they throw themselves under the Laws, Banners and Protection of the King of *Spain*. At 10 o'Clock espied a Shingle roofed House, occupied by a Family of *New-Yorkers*—Near this Spot the Governor of the *Natchez* hath fixed upon an Eminence for the Erection of a Fort. The Family informed, that the intended Garrison were at the *Natchez*, taking in military Stores and Provision. The River opposite to the intended Fort is about Six hundred Yards wide. Whoever undertakes a Description of the *Walnut* Hills, must have a fertile Imagination, be happy at Landscape Painting, and use Something like Romance, or he will fall infinitely short of that Eulogium which the Place so justly merits.

23d. At Sunrise, saw two small Houses on the Eastern Side of the River upon a beautiful

tiful Eminence, from whence runs off a great Extent of very level fertile Ground : The Eminencies resemble the round Hills of *Stafford* County, in the *Northern Neck* of *Virginia*. At 2 o'Clock I went on Board the Governor of *Natchez'* Barge, his Name is *Gayoso*. Here I was regaled with delicious Nuts and excellent Wines. This Gentleman has a majestic Deportment, softened by Manners the most engaging and polite. Having been brought up at the Court of *London*, he is well acquainted with the Etiquette of Mortals who move in the more exalted and splendid Scenes of Life. He had in Company with him two Victualling Boats and an armed Schooner, laden with military Stores. I could not ascertain their Destination, tho' it was probably to the *Walnut* Hills. His Soldiery including Mariners and Mechanics, did not exceed one Hundred Men. Doctor *O'Fallan*, Agent for the *Yasous* Company, ardently pants for the Cultivation of this delicious Soil ; but by Connoisseurs, it is shrewdly conjectured, that having pitched his Tent in the Grotto of Miss *Clarke*, his Ardency, like his Constitution, will turn into downright Frigidity.

24th. At Sunrife, we shot the Grand Gulph, opposite to which, on either Side,
the

the Cane grows to the enormous Height of Forty and sometimes Forty-five Feet. At 8 o'Clock an impervious Fog arose, so as to prevent a Discovery of *Sawyers* and other Obstacles not more than ten Feet from us. It might with Propriety have been called "Darkness visible." At 9 o'Clock passed the *Bayone Pierre*, on the Banks of which are three small Houses and about Thirty Acres of Ground under Cultivation—About ten Miles higher up the Country it is pretty thickly inhabited by *Virginians*, *Carolineans*, *Georgians*, and some few Stragglers from the Eastern States.

26th. At Sunrise came in Sight of the Town of *Natchez*, situate on the Eastern Bank of the River. It contains about an Hundred Houses, and is the Metropolis of the District and Residence of *Don Gayoso*, the Governor last mentioned. In this Town and its Vicinage we continued about a Week.

27th. On *Sunday* I took a View of the Governor's Palace, as also of the Fort; which from its elevated Situation has a fine Command of the River for about a Mile up, and double that Distance down it: though I think it might be assailed with Success by a single

single Regiment, or taken by Surprize with a less Number. The lying of the back Ground, and the Paucity and Insignificance of the Garrison would favour either Plan. They have a good Train of Artillery, though very injudiciously arranged; the back Part of the Fort being *pregnable* to a Dozen Men.

28th. Paid a Visit to *Don Granfrey*, Commandant of the Regular Forces throughout the *Natchez* District: he lives about Two Miles from Town. Here I was regaled with different Kinds of Fruits, Wines and Parmesan Cheese, which were succedent to a very good substantial Dinner. Hospitality and Urbanity presided at his Board: His Lady is young, handsome and polite—His Visitants consisted of five reputable Gentlemen and three Ladies. One of the Gentlemen spoke the *English* and *Spanish* Languages with great Propriety and Ease. Him we fixed upon as Linguist to the Company, and through whom we carried on a brisk and cheerful Conversation. The *Spaniard* Gentlemen and Ladies with whom I had an Opportunity of conversing, do not possess that Austerity and Reserve, which are so generally ascribed to their Nation. The Character of the *Spaniards* is thus drawn by the celebrated

Mr.

Mr. *Swinburne*, after his late Travels through the Country.

"The *Catalans* appear to be the most active, stirring Set of Men, the best calculated for Business, Travelling and Manufactures—The *Valencians* a more sullen, sedate Race, better adapted to the Occupations of Husbandry, less eager to change Place, and of a much more timid, suspicious Cast of Mind than the former—The *Andalusians* seem to be the greatest Talkers and Rhodomontadoes of *Spain*—The *Castilians* have a manly Frankness, and less Appearance of Cunning and Deceit—The *New Castilians* are perhaps the least industrious of the whole Nation—The *Old Castilians* are laborious, and retain more of antient Simplicity of Manner; both are of a firm determined Spirit—The *Arragonese* are a Mixture of the *Castilian* and *Catalan*, rather incling to the former—The *Biscayners* are acute and diligent, fiery and impatient of Control, more resembling a Colony of Republicans, than a Province of an absolute Monarchy—And the *Galicians* are a plodding Painstaking Race of Mortals, that roam over *Spain* in Search of an hardly earned Subsistence."

From this Description; those with whom I conversed are certainly *Castilians*, or of that Pedigree.

Pedigree. To Mr. Swinburne's Character of the Nation I shall have frequent Reference, as I shall be much among them, and probably see Mortals answering each provincial Description. About some ten or fifteen Miles above the Town of *Natchez*, lies the Settlement of the *Bayoue Pierre*—It comprehends a Neighbourhood of about Thirty Miles in Length and Twenty Miles in Width, composed generally of People who have moved, and still continue to move in elevated Stations, when compared to those, who, though now possessed of Wealth, ushered into Life without the Advantages of Fortune, Family, or Education.

29th. At the *Natchez* I observed an Advertisement relating to a stray Horse, for the Setting up of which, the Owner was obliged to get the previous Sanction of a Magistrate. An Inhabitant under the Jurisdiction of *Spain* may be said to be,

“Homo sine Spe, sine Sede, sine Re.”

The Soil of this District is better adapted to the Growing of Corn, Rice and Indigo, than of Tobacco, the Cultivation of which, is gradually falling into Disuse; as an Admittance of it into the King's Store is now

positively refused, from some political Motives, which the Governor thinks himself under no Obligation to communicate; though the present Crop was raised under a Confidence reposed in his Promise, to receive and allow eight Dollars per Hundred for it.

30th. At 10 o'Clock discovered the Wreck of one of Mr. *Craig's* Tobacco Boats, which he had directed to be got under Way. Into this Boat, exclusive of Tobacco, he had stowed a considerable Quantity of Bacon, Butter, Flour and Plank—He lost almost the whole. His Boatmen (for whom he now no longer had Occasion) appeared to bear his Loss with great Composure and Christian Fortitude. At 1 o'Clock moved from the *Natchez*, and in two Hours viewed the white Bluff on the Eastern Side of the River. This Situation is Romantic and boasts a Gentleman's Seat, near which lay three large Tobacco Boats unlaunched. Mr. *Ellis*, from *Amelia* County, of *Virginia*, resides at this Place. Here I discovered the first Pine Trees since I crossed the *Allegheny* Mountains.

31st. At 12 o'Clock past *Lostus's* Bluff, where the River is about Two Hundred Yards wide. This Situation is beauteous, and has two Plantations on the summit laid off in oblong

long Squares, and a little Way below, a fine extensive Meadow. At 3 o'Clock hailed by a Row Galley from *New Orleans*, bound to *New Madrid*. At 4 o'Clock espied the Long Reach, where the Eye may take in an uninterrupted Water Prospect of Twenty-three Miles. At our Entrance into the Long Reach we viewed the Red River, about a Quarter of a Mile wide, on the Western Side of the *Mississippi*; and three Miles below it the *Bayoue Chappaliere*, which taking its Leave of this River, disembogues its gentle Stream into the Gulph of *Mexico*, several Leagues from the Mouths of the *Mississippi*.

April 1st. At Sunrife we heard the Reveille beaten on the Western Side of the River, where there is a small *Spanish* Garrison.

2d. Hailed by two Perochs, one bound to the *Natchez*, the other to the *Bayoue Pierre*. For two Days past we have been much harrassed by *Musquettoes*—The poor *Indians* who go almost naked, construct an elevated Bed of Reeds, which they Suffumigate, so as to banish Insects of every Description from their Lodgements. Slight whitewashed airy Buildings become more common on the Eastern Side of the River, and are, in general, occupied by People from the *United States*.

Here are the most delightful Prospects that ever caught my View—On the Western Side there is a Meadow three Miles in Length and Half a Mile in Width, beset with *English* Clover about eighteen Inches high, which depastures about Three Hundred Head of Horses, and an equal Number of horned Cattle.

3d. At 10 o'Clock viewed *Point Coupee*, a Village Twenty-one Miles in Length, though narrow, consisting of inferior Buildings, interspersed now and then with dwelling Houses, and Chapels of tolerable Elegance. At 4 o'Clock saw eight Country Seats on the Eastern Bank, and at the lower End of some high Bluffs, a large Building of extraordinary Workmanship, and a Dock-yard about Half a Mile below it. At 6 o'Clock viewed the *Alexandrian* Bluffs, from which on both Sides of the River there is a Continuation of beauteous Farms and elegant Buildings for the Distance of Sixty-one Miles. The general Width of the River all this Day is about three Quarters of a Mile, or rather less.

4th. About Noon espied the Suburbs of *New Orleans*, and at 2 o'Clock came abreast of the City on the Eastern Side of the River, in an Island formed by the *Mississippi* and the *Bayoue*

Bayoue St. John. This City is the Residence of *Don Miro* a *Spanish* Viceroy, and Emporium of *Louisiana* and the *Indian* Territories dependent thereon—It lies in almost an exact Square. The Streets which are wide, and some of them well paved with Brick, intersect each other at right Angles. The public Buildings are capacious and elegant. The private Houses generally neat and commodious. Both Descriptions lie compact and cover a Space of Ground of rather more than Half a Mile square. As the Situation of *New Orleans* was originally Nothing more than an extensive Morass, and subject to the Inundation of the *Mississippi*, it became necessary to exclude the Water, by constructing Dikes from about ten to fifteen Feet in Height, and double that Measure in Width. The steady Exertions of many Hands were, and still are employed in the Busines; notwithstanding which, the Dikes are sometimes broken through, and considerable Damage sustained by the Influx of Water into their Cellars, Gardens and lower Rooms.

Along a spacious Canal from the *Bayoue St. John*, to the Western Entrance of the City, both Fish and Fowl of every Kind in great Abundance are brought to their Market;

ket ; which is also well supplied with fresh Meats from various other Quarters.

April 7th. The *French* and *Spanish* Subjects of *Louisiana*, are strict *Romanists*, and therefore, enthusiastically fond of Pageantry in their religious Festivals. This I can avouch from a Procession of Yesterday, when a crucified Redeemer was crucified afresh, in being represented like a Felon, in the Habit-liment of a *Jesuit*. The Virgin-Mother was dress'd out *a-la-mode de Paris*; and Traitor *Judas*, for political Reasons, appeared in the Regimental Uniform of a *Spanish* Soldier, under Sentence of Death, for having divulged the Countersign to the Enemy in Consideration of a *Bribe*.

In this Procession, I observed a young *Kentuckean* who had been educated in all the Strictness of Presbyterianism, from which he had apostatized, and embraced Anabaptism and Methodism, which he highly honoured, by using each Profession alternately, as Hypocrisy might suggest. He was presented with a waxen Candle, which he devotionally received; and, like the Knight of the woeful Countenance, joined the cheating and the cheated Throng.

The

On the Morning of the Procession, I planted myself near the Door of the Monastery, and had a faint Glimpse of the *Nuns* whilst they were adjusting their Capuchins. The Monastery is near the Centre of the Town, and remarkable only for its Length, which if I mistake not, is about Two Hundred Feet. The Hospital is situate in the Western Edge of the City, where Nothing interrupts its Ventilation from the East, South and North ; but unfortunately, as if intended to banish Clearfulness from its Mansions, the Priests have laid off a Burial Ground, which is enclosed on one Side by the Front Wall of the Building. The Chapel is in a ruinous State, and will not be repaired—A new one is erecting, to which, all the internal Decorations of the Old will be transferred.

Don Andrea, a Catalan, arrived in New Orleans about Twenty Years ago :

“ *Propt on a Staff, deform’d with Age and Care,*
 “ *And hung with Rags that flutter’d in the Air.*”

For ten Years past he hath been the richest Subject in *Louisiana* or either of the *Floridas*. About three Years since, he got disgusted with his Lady, against whom he prayed and obtained a Divorce *a Vinculo Matrimonii*, and a Dispensation from the Archbishop of *Toledo*,

ledo, Primate of *Spain* and great Chancellor of *Castile*, for an incestuous Marriage with her younger Sister. To procure an Indulgence of this Kind, required a considerable Largeſs from the Coffers of the old Mammoniſt. He is now erecting to the Glory of *God*, and in Atonement of his Rascalities a ſuperb Church and Hospital. No Doubt when these ſhall be completed, but that he will be reminded by the Priests, who will know how to excite the Paſſions of Hope and Fear; that ſome other expiatory Acts remain, and which he is indiſpensably bound to perform, under no leſs Penalty than of having his Soul everlaſtingly damned in the liquid Flames of Hell-fire. To ſoothe his Vanity, his Name and Pious Deeds, will be enſculptured over the Front Doors and other Parts of the Buildings.

“ *Who builds a Church to God, and not to Fame,
Will never mark the Marble with his Name.*”

POPE.

The *Orleanois* as I obſerved before, are ſtaunch Romaniſts, and conſider People of all other religious Denominations as Heretics, and to whom they not long ſince denied christian Burial. Their Custom was to throw the Body of the deceased, unſhrouded and

and uncoffin'd into the *Mississippi*. Not many Years ago, an *Englishman*, by the Name of *Howard*, influenced by Motives to Humanity, purchased about four Acres of Land in the Suburbs of the City, and generously assigned it as a Burial Ground for *Protestants* and *Strangers*. I saw the Interment of a Corpse. The Grave was about four Feet deep. The Water rose within ten Inches of the Surface, and the Coffin was sunk down with heavy Stones.

Private Adventurers from *New-York*, *Philadelphia* and *Baltimore*, carry on a tolerable Trade at this Place—They have an Advance of Cent per Cent on their Goods, which are nevertheless cheaper than *Spanish* Importations. I could not ascertain what Impost is exacted here, but imagine it to be about fifteen per Cent ad Valorem.

During my Continuance in *New Orleans*, I got acquainted with the celebrated Major *Fairlamb*, whose Name will be memorable from the Circumstance of his having in the Course of the last War, with only Sixty-three Men in a Blockhouse, withstood and repulsed General *Wayne's* whole Brigade. He is now Surveyor-General for the King of *Spain* in *Louisiana*. I had an ironical Mes-
E sage

sage from him to General *Wayne*, whom I had not the Pleasure of Seeing, in my Route through *Georgia*.

May 16th. Went on Board the Governor's Packet at the *Bayoue St. John*, bound to *Mobilie* and *Pensacola*. In this *Bayoue* I counted Seventy-three Alligators, which the Eye could easily take in at one View. The Tail part of this Animal yields a very nutritious Food, and on which, the *Indians* and *Negroes* voraciously englut and gormandize. They are easily killed with a Rifle Ball, discharged about an Inch below the Eyes—All other Parts except the Belly, are clothed with impenetrable Scales. The usual Length of those I saw, were from six to ten Feet; though some few are now and then seen, which measure upwards of Twenty Feet. I was informed by an intelligent *Spaniard* that they are of the same Genus with the Crocodile on the River *Nile*, many of which he had critically examined in the Course of his late Travels. On Board of this Vessel were Passengers, ten miserable *Spaniards* and a poor *Negro*, laden with combrous Chains, whose incessant clangous Sounds, united with Heart-rending Groans, transpierced my Ear, and sadden'd all my Soul. They were under the Care of an Ensign, whose Feelings appeared

to

to be equally wounded with my own. Their Fate will be confinement in a Prison Ship, till they, with many others, now in the *Calibouse* at *Mobille*, reach their ten Years gloomy Abode in the Copper Mines, where they will be excluded from the Light of Heaven, and drag out a miserable Existence under the Iron Rod of ruthless Oppression, in hard and unremitting Labour. Providence was kind to these poor Wretches. At times they were cheerful, and by no Means seemed to anticipate the subterraneous Horrors which await them.

17th. Arrived at *Pensacola*, the Metropolis of *West Florida*. There are some elegant Buildings in this Place, particularly the Palace, Barrack and Chapel. Whilst *Pensacola* was in Possession of the *British* Government, it was under an excellent Police, and wore a very different Aspect from what it now does; a great Part of the Town being in a ruinous State. There is but one Tavern for the Accommodation of *Americans* and Foreigners, and its Rates are enormously high. Their Market is well supplied with aquatic Productions of every Species peculiar to the Climate, and with slight Industry, might vie with Northern Markets in Mutton, Beef and Pork, with the superiour and additional Ad-

vantage of Venison. Perennial Fruits of all Kinds, except Apples, they have in the greatest Profusion.

Don Arturo O'Neil, Governor of this Province informed me, that during an eleven Years Residence in *Pensacola*, he had never experienced a Moment's Sicknes; and that all the Citizens enjoyed uninterrupted Health, except the *Spanish* Garrison; whose Mode of Living, will, at all Times, and in all Places, be productive of complicated Diseases. Inordinate Use of Ardent Spirits and bad Wine, superadded to high seasoned Meats and promiscuous Intercourse with lewd Women, will disorder any the most robust Habit of Body.

Immediately back of the Town is a delightful Acclivity, from whence issue many bubbling Fountains of wholesome, pleasant Water, filtrated through the Sand which constitutes the Hill. The upper and lower *Creek* Nation trade to this Place, where they are uniformly imposed upon by a Mr. *Panton*, who hath monopolized their Trade. The poor *Indians* barter their Deer Skins at fourteen Pence Sterling per Pound, for Salt at nine Shillings Sterling per Bushel. *Panton* is Part Owner of the Salt Works in the Island

Island of *Providence*, and has it brought to *Pensacola* in his own Bottoms, at the Average Expence of about three Pence per Bushel. I think his Goods at *Mobile*, *Pensacola* and *St. Marks*, are generally vended at about Five Hundred per Cent on their prime Cost.

After having spent about a Week in *Pensacola*, experiencing greater Civilities from his Lordship than my most sanguine Expectations could have depicted, I departed with an Escort of eleven *Indians*, to whom I was introduced by the Governor, as an *English* Ambassador Incog. This ludicrous Title I endeavoured to support, during my Passage, through a Wildernes of Three Hundred Miles, by assuming wife Catonia Looks, big with momentous and mystical Concerns. My mock Gravity forsook me whenever I drew over the Stage of Imagination, a Groupe of old Acquaintance viewing me in my new and farcial Capacity of Ambassador from the Court of *London* to an *Indian* Emperor.

My *Indian* Companions (from their Conduct I judge) were much pleased with various Parts of my Drefs, which they would in my Presence, try on and pull off, and pack away in their Budgets ; always remembering to

to make a Bow and say, “Tank you Sir,” which extorted from me a Nod of Consent, with the Addition of, *You're welcome Gentlemen.* The very ample Stock of Rum, Wine, &c. with which the Governor had supplied me, was, with like Ceremony by them, and other Parties which we frequently met, consumed in about three Days. In about 20 Miles from *Pensacola* we reached the *Indian* Boundary, no Part of their Territory ever approaching nigher than that Distance to the Sea-board. Notwithstanding the natural Sterility of Soil from *Pensacola* almost to the *Tallipoosee* River, the Long-leaf'd *Pine*, *Hickory*, *Oak*, *Poplar*, and *Walnut* Trees grow to their usual Height, and protect from the scorching Rays of the Sun the tall and tender Grafs; among which Plants, Shrubs and Flowers of variegated Hue, and of rare medicinal Virtues, are interspersed; a Catalogue of which, shall be subjoined to some future Page.

June 1st. Arrived at General *M'Gillivray's* House, situate on the *Cousee* River, about 5 Miles above its Junction with the *Tallipoosee*, which forms the *Alabama*, whose Confluence with the *Tombigbee* forms the Bay of *Mobille*. —At the Mouth of *Mobille* River, which empties into the Bay, is a Town of similar Name, of which, having only a transient View

View, I shall not attempt a Description; but only observe that it is garrison'd, and from its Locality, must 'ere long surpass *Pensacola*, in Population, Trade and Buildings.—The fertile Grounds upon all the above last mentioned Rivers are settled and settling by Corn, Hemp and Tobacco-Makers, who will have a nearer and better Navigation to *Mobille* than to *Pensacola*—add to this the Peltrey-Trade, which will trebly exceed that of *Tensacola*, as being nearer to the Hunting-Grounds from whence they may have Water-Carriage, except at one or two places, where a very slight Portage will be necessary.

On my Arrival at *M'Gillivray's* where my Indian Escort left me, I was informed that he had just gone to his upper Plantation, on the same River, about 6 Miles distant from his present Residence: Thither I impaire in Company with his Nephew, who supplied me with an *Indian's* stray Horse.—We had not ridden far, before we unfortunately met the Owner, who, with a menacing Countenance and *sans Ceremonie*, seized the Bridle and ordered me to dismount immediately.—An Hour's Walk brought me to the Place, where the General was superintending some Workmen in the Erection of a Log House embellished with dormer Windows, on the very Spot

Spot where his Father resided whilst a Trader in the Nation. Here are some tall old Apple-trees planted by his Father, which make a venerable Appearance, tho' greatly obstruct the Prospect to and from his rural humble Palace.

He received me with Frankness and Civility; modestly enquired into my Business, and promised every Assistance in his Power towards my Accommodation, whilst I should think proper to make his House my Home:—Do they order Things better in France? This Gentleman to Appearance is at least Five and Forty, tho' in Fact only Thirty-two Years of Age—Dissipation marked his juvinile Days, and sapped a Constitution originally delicate and feeble.—He is subject to an habitual Head-Ach and Cholic, notwithstanding which his Temper is placid and serene, and at Intervals of Ease quite joyous. He posseffes an Atticism of Diction aided by a liberal Education, a great Fund of Wit and Humour, meliorated by ~~perfect~~^{good} Nature and Politeness.—His Lady considering the Mode of Education to which she was subjeected in the early Part of Life, is a Model of Prudence and Discretion; and could her Complexion, which is *olive*, be commuted for the lovely Tints of *red* and *white*, she would be

*“A Woman loveliest of the lovely Kind,
“Perfect in Body, and complete in Mind.”*

By

By this Lady the General has two lovely Children, *Alexander* and *Elizabeth*. They speak the English Tongue as well as Children of a similar Age usually do among us.

He has a considerable Number of Negroes at his different Plantations, probably more than Fifty, and common Report says, double that Number in the Spanish West-India Islands; as also large Stocks of Horses, Hogs, and horned Cattle. Two or three White Men superintend their respective Ranges, and now and then collect them together in Order to brand, mark, &c: This they effect by giving them a little Salt in their Inclosures. His Table smokes with good substantial Diet, and his Side-board displays a Variety of Wines and ardent Spirits.—The General encourages his People in all Kinds of gymnastic Exercises; his Motives for which may be easily conjectured— He invited me to a Ball-Match, about 10 miles from his House, between two Townships. Sixty-two alert young Fellows were selected from each Town. The Goals were set up about a Quarter of a Mile apart, near the Center of an extensive Campaign or Praire.— They consist of two blazed Saplings fixed in the Ground about 10 Feet asunder at either End, thro' which every Time either Party throws the Ball with their Rackets, they are

entitled to count one—The Number of the Game is arbitrary.—Midway between the Goals, the Ball is thrown up alternately by two old Men, who are mutually chosen by the contending Parties to decide, all Controversies which may arise in the Course of the Game—Upon throwing up the Ball a violent Struggle ensues between the Parties which sometimes lasts 8 or 10 Minutes, before either Side can give it a cast; and when they do, there are others of their Opponents ready to intercept and give it an adverse Direction.—On this Game Property to a very considerable Amount is generally risqued, consisting of Broaches, Bracelets, Gorgets, Medals, Paints, Arms and Ammunition piled up in a pyramidal Form. Sometimes their whole Family Stock of Food and Raiment is hazzarded.—A dislocated Joint or fractured Bone is not uncommon: Suffer what they may, you'll never see an angry Look or hear a threatening Word among them.

The Players devest themselves of all their Cloaths, except their Flaps. They ingeniously disguise themselves with various coloured Paints and assume the Semblance of Rattle-Snakes entwin'd about their Legs Thighs and Arms; whilst spiral Streaks of *red, white, black* and *blue*, alternately adorn their other Parts.—

The

The vanquished Party immediately upon the Conclusion of the Game, betake themselves to their Heels, in Order to avoid the Scoffs and Ridicule of their boastful Conquerors.

Our President, whilst *M'Gillivray* was in *New-York*, complimented him with a Selection of elegantly gilt bound Books; as also with the Golden Epaulet which he had worn throughout the War. The latter *M'Gillivray* considers as a great Honor conferred upon him; and therefore, says, he "*prizes it far above Rubies and much fine Gold.*" He receives annual Presents from his Father in *Scotland*, which he modestly displays to his Friends, saying, those I received from my natural, these from my political and adopted Father.

The Reader is here presented with a Specimen of *M'Gillivray's* epistolary Composition, extracted from two Letters addressed to Messrs. *Boyd & Ker* of *Richmond*, and to Mr. *Collin Douglass* of *Manchester*, both written in Haste, and in a Circle of many Chieftains, whose Garrulity would have confufed any other Man than *M'Gillivray*.

" Little Tallisee, Upper Creek Nation, 5th June, 1791.

" DEAR SIRS,

" M R. Pope having called here on his Way Home, I embr^ace the Opportunity of making you my warmest Acknowledgements, for the polite Attention which you were pleased to shew to me, when I had the Pleasure of being with you last Summer. " The

" The Indisposition with which I was attacked at New-York, rendered me unable to return by the Route I had promised myself, and induced me to make a Passage by Sea, necessary to establish my Health.

" In the Hurry of setting out at an early Hour from Richmond, I forgot to discharge a small Account I owed you; Not recollecting the exact amount; but imagine it to be within the Compass of a Guinea; I have given Col. Pope one to deliver to you on my Account.

" Wishing you every Prosperity, I remain

" Gentlemen, your very obliged

" Humble Servant,

" ALEXANDER M'GILLIVRAY."

" MESS'RS. BOYD & KER.

" Upper Creek Nation, 8th June, 1791.

" DEAR SIR,

" THE Bearer Col. Pope being on his Return Homeward, from a Western Tour, and learning that he lives in your Neighbourhood, I embrace the favourable Opportunity to make you and your very accomplished Lady my warmest Acknowledgements, for the polite and friendly Attention shewn me when on my Tour last Summer.

" The Effects of a severe Indisposition at New-York rendered me incapable of returning by the Route in which I came; and after a tolerable Passage of Fifteen Days, we landed at St. Mary's in Georgia.

" I felt great Regret that it was not in my Power to make my Respects in Person, to the hospitable and friendly Gentlemen of Manchester and Richmond: but be assured " I shall long remember them—And " Sweet Jim of Aberdeen," still vibrates on my Ear.

" That you and your accomplished Lady may long enjoy Happiness, and every Prosperity, is the Wish of

" DEAR SIR,

" Your most obedient

" Humble Servant,

" ALEXANDER M'GILLIVRAY."

" COLLIN DOUGLASS, ESQUIRE.

Having spent an agreeable Time among the upper Creeks, I took my Departure on the General's Horse, with his Overseer as an Escort to the Lower Towns of Coweta, Broken-Arrow

Arrow and *Cuffatee*. The two former lie on the Western, and the latter on the Eastern Side of the *Chattahoutchee* River, which takes its Name from two *Indian* Words; *Chatta*, a Stone, and *Houtchee*, which signifies marked or inscribed. This Stone lies about 3 Miles above the *Coweta*, at the Rapids, covered over with hieroglyphic Inscriptions, which the present Race do not understand. On the Western Side of the River, upon the low Grounds of the *Cuffatees* is a Mount, on whose Summit are the evident Traces of a Parapet sufficiently large to have contained one Thousand Men. This Mount appears to have been the Work of Ages and of many Hands, being upwards of 600 Yards in Circumference at its Base, and about 100 Feet in perpendicular Height. On the Western Side and immediately opposite to the Mount, are the Vestiges of a very large and deep Intrenchment, thrown up in a circular Form by the Ancestors of the present Race, as a Defence against a numerous Tribe of the *Seminolies*, whom the *Creeks* after a long and bloody Contest of 20 Years, extirminated, and re-peopled the deserted Villages by slow Emigrations from their own victorious Tribes. This Event according to the oral Tradition of the *Creeks*, happened about *Ten Thousand* Years ago, when they had

a Giant-King of most stupendous Size, called *Billy Pig*, who in Times of *Dearth*, would stop the *Chattahoutchee* with his Foot, and divert the Current over all the neighbouring Fields: That the *Alligators* got offended at his Conduct, and begged their King to snap off his great Toe; the Loss of which prevented him from damming up the Water any more with that Foot; and so he died of Grief, and was burried under the circular Mount already mentioned, coil'd up like a Rattle-Snake.

During my Tarriance at the lower Towns, I formed an Intimacy with the *Little King* of the *Broken Arrow*, who is friendly, communicative and intelligent. Through him, with the Aid of an Interpreter, I attempted to compose a small Vocabulary of the *Creekish* Tongue, particularly of such Words as most frequently occur in common Intercourse. In the prosecution of this, I enquired of him what Appellation he had for God? he replied, *Sawgee Putchehaffee*, which signifies the Giver and Taker of Breath: And pray with what Epithet is your Majesty pleased to honor the poor old Devil? with Emotions of Contempt he replied; there is no Devil: God Almighty is too much of a Gentleman to keep bad Servants about him. Just at this Instant, his Majesty received an Invitation to a Rum-Drinking

Drinking, which in Opposition to all my Disfusions, he resolved to honour with his Presence. This Rum-Drinking or Spewing-Match was held in the public Square, contiguous to their Hot-House; in one or other of which Places, as the Season may require, the *Wittenagemote* of the District assemble for the Discussion of all Subjects, whether civil or military, moral or divine. Here also they hold their War Dances, display their Trophies of War, and keep their annual Festival called the *Busk*. This Festival generally commences about the middle of *July*, upon the first Discovery of ripen'd Corn, and is the grand Epoch of the *Greeks*. All the Male Clasps who have attained the Age of Puberty, religiously abstain from all Intercourse with the other Sex, and every Kind of Sustenance, except Water, for three Days; which from the Cathartics and Emetics they then swallow, are called the Days of Purgation. Thus cleansed from the Impurities of the former Year, they extinguish every Particle of Fire throughout their District, and rekindle more by the Friction of a round *Sassafras* Stick, in an Augur Hole bored into a Piece of dry *Poplar*. This Relighting of the Fire, is performed by their Chief Priest or *Sachim*, and communicated by Torches to the Master or Mistress
of

of each respective Family. This done, a multitudinous Mess of new Corn, cooked over the new Fire, is brought into the Centre of the Square, and distributed with great Formality among the Guests, agreeable to Seniority and Rank, by old Men and Women deputed for that Purpose. When the Repast is over, they rise up with one Consent, and with many strange Gesticulations and loud Shouts of *Indian* Triumph, dance down the Sun, Moon, and Seven Stars. At the Close of almost every Day throughout the Year, about 15 or 20 principal Townsmen assemble in the Square, for the Purpose of giving or receiving the most recent Intelligence, whether foreign or domestic, which if important, is reported to their grand Council, and by them to the National Assembly, whose Decrees on the Occasion, are generally ratified by their Emperor, who has Power also of rejecting them.—The *Creeks* consider Fornication as a *Faux Pas* or venial Crime at most: but Wo! to the Sons and Daughters who commit Adultry: Vengeance in a swift Career pursues them and cannot be appeased, but by the corporeal Sufferance of the Aggressors. Upon a Detection of the Crime, about 50 or 60 Persons of each Sex, repair to a Thicket, and supply themselves with *Hickory* Clubs; this done, the Men de-

termine

termine upon the Measure of Punishment to be inflicted on the Woman and permit the Women to decide upon the Man's. They then separate, brandishing their Clubs; the Men in Quest of the Woman, the Women in Quest of the Man. The Adultrers when found, is seized upon, and ignominiously dragged into a Circle formed by the Men, who beat her with their Clubs till she can no longer stand; and whilst extended on the Ground, the Avengers proceed to dock her Hair, crop her Ears, and slit her Nostrils; of all this her Inamorato, is made an unwilling Spectator, and sometimes an Agent; who, in Turn, suffers a similar Disgrace in the Circle of the Women, his fair Dulcinea looking on. What I have here mentioned are the highest Punishments they ever inflict, even upon the most atrocious Offenders.—Sometimes they dispense with cropping their Ears and slitting the Nostrils, and content themselves, with giving the Offender a sound Drubbing and a short *Dock*:—This Lenity was extended a few Days ago to a Mr. *Patrick Murphy*, who plead Justification; alledging that he was a Foreigner, ignorant of their Usages and Laws; that the Woman was no Christian, having never been *baptized*; and that not having the Fear of God before her Eyes; what he had done was altogether *accidental*.

If the Club Bearers ever relinquish, or lay down their Clubs through any Mishap or Necessity ; before they encircle the Object of their Vengeance, they dare not resume them again, as it is presumed, that it was so ordered by their God, in tender Mercy to the Delinquents, who are accordingly acquitted of that Offence.

Upon the Decease of an Adult of either Sex, the Friends and Relations of the Decedent religiously collect whatever he or she held most dear in Life, and inter them close by and sometimes in their Owner's Grave. This pious Tribute to their Dead includes Horses, Cows, Hogs and Dogs, as well as Things inanimate. A Girl of about 16 Years of Age died a few Days before I left the Nation. She had procured from a *Spanish* Officer at *Pensacola*, a likely Boar-Pig of the *Spanish* Breed, which she brought Home, and cherished in her Bosom, until he waxed strong, and became an useful Member in his Generation. Now when her Brethren, and the young Men of the Land, perceived that the Damsel was dead ; they arose up and pursued after the Boar and slew him. And a certain young Man of the House of *Illesenekaw* stood up in the Midst of the Congregation, and said ; I will go unto my Lord the King and unto the Elders and Chief Men of the Land, and say unto them, Verily
the

the Big Boar of *Chattahoutchee* is slain; by the Arrows of the Sons of *Ninewaw* is he fallen! And they said unto him Go: And he departed and went unto the King, and unto the Elders and Chief Men of the Land, and reported all these Things; saying, Verily the Big Boar of *Chattahoutchee* is slain, by the Arrows of the Sons of *Ninewaw* is he fallen. And when the King and the Elders and Chief Men heared thereof, they drank strong Drink and grew exceeding Wroth, saying; the Blood of the Boar be upon the Head of those, who have wrought this Evil in *Coweta*; for they wist not that the Damsel was dead——This extraordinary Circumstance extorted from me an Epitaph on the Damsel and the Boar, who are now Jointenants of one Grave.

*Beneath this Turf a Woman,
Lies burried with a Boar;
Which to all Sows was common,
As she to all Men, Whore.*

The *Creeks* regularly make a Burnt Offering of what they conceive to be the most delicious Parts of every Animal taken in Hunting, before they presume to taste a Mouthful. The Parts they commit to the Flames are proportioned to the Size of the Animal, probably about 2 or 3 lb. from a *Buffalo*, and still less in a regular gradation down to the smallest Quadrupede, Fish or Bird. The

The *Creeks* like the *Otaheiteans* as mentioned in *Cook's Voyages*, have a Custom of *Tatowing* themselves, and probably upon similar Principles. The young and old of both Sexes undergo this Operation in Silence, and without the least muscular Distortion. I saw it performed upon a Child of 4 Years old, who when released gave a Shout, and said, now "*I'm a Man, and a Warrior too.*"

Those who live in Townships are Tenants in Common of large extensive Fields of Corn, Rice and Potatoes, which commonly lie on the fat low-Grounds of some River convenient to their Towns.

The Cultivation of the Soil and almost every domestic Drudgery are imposed upon their Women, who are less prolific than ours ; probably owing to their hard Labour and excessively coarse and scanty Diet. A long rainy Season had rendered their Fields so quaggy that all Cultivation was impracticable ; they durst not even venture to cut down the tall rank Weeds which towered above their Corn. In this general Distress an old Conjuror, of the Name of *Senetahawgo* stept forth into the Square, and thus harrangued the listening Crowd :

" Men & Warriors of Coweta, Broken-Arrow & Cussatee,

" THE great God of Thunder and Lightning and of Rain, who stands upon the aerial Battle-

Battlements of Heaven, hath raised his angry terriforous Voice, and with the Lightnings flashing from his Eyes, hath rent the Bosom of the Clouds ! He hath hidden the Sun behind the Moon, and covered her Face with a Bear-Skin : With the Tails of numerous Beavers, he hath conceal'd the twinkling Stars ! We have been Traitors to our God, to *Hippo ilk Meco*, to *Lauco Washington* ! We have rejected the good Talk of *Hippo ilk Meco*, and listened to the lying Talk of *Cherokees* ! We have infringed the Treaty with *Lauco Washington* in stealing Horses from his Children ! Our young Men refuse to hunt :—their Guns are rusty and their Hatchets dull ! They sell their Horses, Cloaths and silver Ornaments for Rum. Our Women laugh at us and refuse to work : they are Prostitutes and fuckle the Children of white Men ! Our Men are worse than the Excrement of Dogs or *Spaniards* :—Our Women viler than the Urine of *Pole-Cats* or the Vomit of *Buzzards* ! For these Causes are our Fields drenched by the angry Clouds of the Firmament.

When will the gladfome Rays of Sol return and desiccate our flooded Fields ? Ah ! never till in Dust and Ashes we repent, and forsake our evil Ways. Men and Warriors, let us confess our Faults and amend our Manners ; and

and then *Sawgee Putchehaffee* will forgive us, and bid the Sun to shew himself, and with a genial Warmth revive our drooping Corn.— My Sons, I'm very old and chilly ; the Marrow of my Bones is dry, and scarcely creeps the Blood along these Veins, which once in rapid Currents flow'd—I want a Keg of Rum.— My Daughters, I have fasted for three Days and Nights, and invoked my God in your Behalf.—I am hungry as a *Wolf*.—I want to eat some Hog and Hominy."

A plaintive dull Monoty constitutes the vocal Music of the *Creeks*. They are passionately fond of instrumental Music, particularly that of the Violin, to which like Persons bitten by the *Turantula*, they will dance for several Hours without the least Intermision.

No People under Heaven are more attached to, or swerve less from, the Customs of their Ancestors than the *Creeks*. Whether this Attachment originates in filial Piety, or in Ignorance I cannot determine: But as a Clue for Conjecture, let me relate their Mode of Cropping.

They plant their Corn in Holes at an unequal, tho' never greater Distance than Tobacco Hills, from one another. Twenty or thirty Grains are frequently thrown into an Hole which

which produce as many earless Stalks, and which they will upon no Consideration suffer to be thin'd. They say a plough is nothing but a Horse-trap, and therefore never use it, contenting themselves with light Weeding Hoes, with which they barely scalp the grassy Surface of their Fields. Their Inclosures are Fork and Rail Fences just high enough to keep out horned Cattle. Whilst their Crops are in the Ground they tether out their Horses, Hogs &c, to Trees, Stumps and Stakes. Tho' they have numerous limpid Streams of excellent Spring Water gushing from their River Banks, yet like old *Seneca* they prefer the tepid Waters from their Creeks and Rivers. They scarcely ever weed, hill, prime, top or succour their Tobacco, and always cut and cure it very green over a hasty blast of Fire, as they do their *Killicanic* or *Sumac* Leaves, which when mixed with Tobacco, emit a most delightful Odour from the Pipe. This Preparation of *Sumac* and *Tobacco*, the *Indians* constantly smoke, and consider as a sovereign Remedy in all cephalic and pectoral Complaints.

The *Creeks* in approaching the Frontiers of *Georgia*, always encamp on the right Hand side of the Road or Path, assigning the left, as ominous, to the *Larvæ* or Ghosts of their departed Heroes who have either unfortunately

ly lost their Scalps, or remain unburied. The Ghost of an Hero in either Predicament, is refused Admittance into the Mansions of Blifs, and sentenced to take up its invisible and darksome Abode, in the dreary Caverns of the Wildernes; until the Indignity shall be retaliated on the Enemy, by some of his surviving Friends.

Agriculture among the *Creeks* is little understood and less practised.—I know of but one Man in the whole Nation, who possesses tolerable Industry, and that is a private Citizen, called the *Bully*, who from a very humble Beginning hath accumulated an easy Fortune, consisting of the following Species of Property, viz. Of Negroes, 16 Men, 19 Women and 26 Children. Of Horses, 5 Studs, 32 Geldings, 127 Mares and 83 Colts. Of black Cattle, 19 Bulls, 58 Steers, 326 Cows, and 132 Calves. Of Hogs about 300 Head; besides Household Furniture, Poultry and Store Goods, to a very considerable Amount. Two likely young Wenches between the Ages of 15 and 20, are the only Children the *Bully* has, and from his advanced Age, its probable he will never encrease the Number. It is said the *Black Dog* is a Man of Property, tho' a most egregious Sot and Sluggard.—I once saw his Majesty in a Puddle of his own Excrement

ment and Urine, which attracted Swarms of *Spanish Flies* and *Beetles*, whose constant Buzz had lull'd him into sweet Repose. The Powers of their Kings appear to be very circumscribed and nearly on a Par with those of a common County Magistrate with us, the Limits of their respective Governments being sometimes confined to a single Township, or a Spot of Ground not more than Ten Miles Square. *M'Gillivray* who is perpetual Dictator, in Time of War subdelegates a Number of Chieftains for the Direction of all military Operations; and when the War concludes, they, in Compensation for their martial Atchievements, are invested by the Dictator with civil Authority which superedes the hereditary Powers of their Demi-Kings.

June 29th. The *Little King* of the *Broken-Arrow* returned, and furnished me with the following Catalogue of *Indian* Words, with a literal Translation to each by Mr. *Darisoux*, Linguist to the *Lower Creeks*.

<i>Sawgee Putchehassé</i> , God, or the Giver and Taker of Breath.	<i>Sow a ki gee</i> , Lie by his Side.
<i>Hippo ilk Meco</i> , <i>M'Gillivray</i> , or the good Child King.	<i>Covarwigeé</i> , Mr. Thomas Kerr, or the Little Partridge.
<i>Honuntauchee</i> , Do. or the great Man.	<i>Illesenekaw</i> , the Baboon.
<i>Chuloehawjo</i> , the mad Light-wood.	<i>Chulefeneckaw</i> , the mad Dog.
<i>Chuleetawbe</i> , the dry Pine.	<i>Ninewaw</i> , lie in the Path.
<i>Mecohawjo</i> , the mad King.	<i>Senetehawgo</i> , wait for the Day.
	<i>Iuletiga</i> , he escaped from his Enemy.
	<i>Mifs Sukee</i> ,

<i>Putchesua</i> , An axe,	<i>Chulua</i> , Pudendum Muliebre.
<i>Wawearw Nunnoraww</i> , a Bull.	<i>Hieska</i> , Fœminam subagitare.
<i>Chutkacvui</i> , a Bridle.	<i>Piffee</i> , the Breast.
<i>Hatchee</i> , a Creek.	<i>Epha</i> , a Dog.
<i>Atchee</i> , Corn.	<i>Epha Hoakata</i> , a Bitch.
<i>Hocussee</i> , a Child.	<i>Nawensee</i> , a Bear.
<i>Etchoo</i> , a Deer.	<i>Charweawcaw</i> , a Goose.
<i>Toatloa</i> , an Eye.	<i>Futchu</i> , a Duck.
<i>Ah Hiffee</i> , my Friend.	<i>Pinnua</i> , a Turkey.
<i>Cappo tooka</i> , an Hat,	<i>Ilklo</i> , a Squirrel.
<i>Chatto</i> , Iron.	<i>Fufraw</i> , a Bird.
<i>Meco</i> , a King.	<i>Chofee</i> , a Sheep.
<i>Ocunna</i> , Land.	<i>Chofochee</i> , a Hare or little Sheep.
<i>Iste Hatkee</i> , a white Man.	<i>Wootcoo</i> , a Raccoon.
<i>Iste Chauice</i> , an Indian or red Man.	<i>Suka</i> , a Hog.
<i>Iste Lustee</i> , a negro or black Man.	<i>Suka Hatkee</i> , an Opossum or white Hog.
<i>Hoakta</i> , a Woman.	<i>Telafo</i> , a Town.
<i>Stignee</i> , an Owl.	<i>Ponunga</i> , an Indian Talk.
<i>Catcha</i> , a Panter.	<i>Ninnee Hee Mattee?</i> is this the Way?
<i>Chitloc</i> , an Horse.	<i>Iste na astcha?</i> where are you going?
<i>Itchen</i> , a Gun.	<i>Na astcha Pensacola</i> , I am go- ing to Pensacola.
<i>Slaufcau</i> , a Knife.	<i>Iste nata ifca?</i> where did you come from?
<i>Cappo</i> , a Coat.	<i>Nata esca New Orleans</i> , I came from New-Orleans.
<i>Cappo Lauco</i> , a great Coat.	<i>Wee Hummee</i> , Rum, or strong Water.
<i>Chautee</i> , Blood.	<i>Fo in Chumba</i> , a Bee, or a Fly in Sweetnes.
<i>Stillipiga</i> , a Moccofon or Shoe	<i>Netta Haffee</i> , the Sun.
<i>Ittee</i> , a tree.	<i>Netlee Haffee</i> , the Moon.
<i>Toatka</i> , Fire.	<i>Cocheechumba</i> , a Star.
<i>Toseena</i> , Bacon.	<i>Tufstaniga</i> , a Warrior.
<i>Wawcaw Piffee</i> , Milk.	
<i>Wawcaw Piffee Nehaw</i> , Butter.	
<i>Wawcaw Piffee Tuckaliga</i> , Cheese	
<i>Tuckaliga</i> , Bread.	
<i>Oekchaunswaw</i> , Salt.	
<i>Hafraww</i> , Penes.	
<i>Hafnilcaw</i> , Testiculi.	

Telawgo Hatchee, Pea Creek, and *Chauice Hatchee*, Red River from a Bay of great Extent between St. Marks and Pensacola.

Wee launco Hatchee, yellow water River, makes a large Bay in Sight of Pensacola.

Wee Lustee, black Water Creek, empties into yellow Water River.

Wee Hatkee, white Water Creek, and *Wee Cuffappee*, Cold Water Creek, empty into *Conakee Hatchee*, which forms the Bay of Pensacola.

Took

Took my Departure from the Nation in Company with a Mr. *John Turvin*, who in Course of the last War, to escape the Persecution of the *Georgians*, fled for Protection to the *British* Standard, where he continued till the Surrender of *St. Augustine*, from whence he repaired to the *Creek* Nation, took a Wife, and commenced a Trader. He is a friendly honest Man, though very irritable when he conceives the least Indignity offered to him. To sooth his captious Temper which involved both him and me in frequent Difficulties, I had Recourse to Adulation, such as, I'm surprised Mr. *Turvin*, that a Gentleman of your good Sense should condescend to word it with such low-liv'd Wretches!—You, who have been educated in the *British* Camp, among Officers of the first Rank and Dignity!—Fie! Fie! For a Gentleman to put himself upon a Level with such Cattle!

June 30th. Late in the Evening we arrived at an old deserted *Indian* Village, situate on the Banks of *Flint* River, near an Hundred Miles from *Chattahoutchee*, with which it unites, and empties into the Ocean 50 Miles South of *St. Marks*.—About 30 Families from the *Chattahoutchee* Townships are resettling this Place. The late Rains had forced the River out of its Banks and rendered
it

it impassable to Mr. *Turvin's* Horses which were loaded with Beaver-Skins. In this perplexity two young Fellows very opportunely came up and proffered their Assistance in the Construction of a Raft, composed of the Timbers from the old Village Houses.—When we had crossed the Stream, they proposed going with us as far as the fœderal Fort on the *Oconee*, to which we readily assented, and found them very tractable in rendering every possible Aid in simular Predicaments.

July 2 Encamped on the Banks of *Ockmulga* about 30 Miles from *Flint*. Here also we had Recourse to our Indian Friends for another Raft as well as a Shelter from a most violent Rain which was then descending. They soon constructed both; the former with dry Logs, the latter with the Bark of Pines.—*Ockmulga* unites with the *Oconee*, and forms the *Alatamaha* which empties into the Sea North of *St. Mary's* River, and is navigable for Vessels of 40 or 50 Tons Burthen 300 Miles from its Mouth. Late in the Evening arrived at, and continued on the Banks of the *Oconee*, which was impassible for two Days.—Here our Provisions were exhausted, and *Turvin* and myself appeared like Men without Hope, having left all our Ammunition on the South Bank of the *Ockmulga* at our last Encampment

ment. We communicated our Distress and Misfortune to our *Indian* Friends. They smiled at our Perplexity, and without informing us of their Intentions, immediately took different Routes, and in about 3 Hours returned, one with an *Opossum*, the other with about a Peck of Turtle Eggs, on which we fared sumptuously during our two Days Confinement.

July — Early in the Morning we divested ourselves of all our Cloathing, and confined it on the Tops of the Beaver Packs; then each Man with one end of a long Rope tied round his Horse's Neck, and holding the other in his left Hand, plunged into the Stream and swam to the opposite Shore. In this hazardous and voluntary Attempt we in some Measure imitated what Cæsar did through Accident and Love of Fame, when cast away. Thus having braved *Oconee*'s rough, rocky, rapid Stream which was then upwards of 200 Yards in Width, we resumed our Drefs, mounted our Nags, and in 2 Hour's Time reached the Fœderal Fort on the Eastern Bank of the River, about 10 Miles below the Place where we crossed, and 2 Miles below the Rock Landing. At the Fort I continued 4 Days; being invited by Major *Call*, Capt. *Rudolph*, Lieut. *Martin* and Ensign *Clay* to spend the Anniversary

versary of American Independence with them. The Rejoicings of the Day were ushered in by the Discharge of Musketry and Cannon under the Direction of skillful Officers in each Department, at whose Expence a genteel Dinner was provided under a spacious Booth ; to the Participation of which, Ladies and Gentlemen from the Country were invited. Several sentimental Toasts suitable to the Celibrity of the Day were drank, and at 6 o'Clock the Company repaired to a large Room in Town and partook of an excellent Supper, after which, with the Introduction of Minuets, Cotillions and Country Dances, the Evening was closed to the entire satisfaction of all Parties. On this Occasion Major *Call* with his usual Politeness invited my two *Indian* Companions, who expressed a strong Desire to enlist into our service, in which they concluded that a Man might wear fine Cloaths and fare sumptuously every Day. The Town lies about half a Mile below the Fort, and the Buildings at both Places, consist of very rough, slight Materials, as if intended merely to answer a temporary Shelter for a few Sojourners. The Citizens however like other Southern People, are indolent, luxurious, fond of gaudy Apparel and pompous Equipage. Hither the *Creek Indians*, since their late Treaty with Congress, bring their Peltry, Furs, &c. in Barter for West

West-India and European Goods to the almost entire Exclusion of their former Merchants at *Mobille, Pensacola* and *St. Marks*.—In Digging a Well at this Place near the River Bank, the Workmen discovered many Strata of white black and red friable Loam, which are appropriated to three several Uses, viz: the white for Starch, the black for Soap and the red for common Paint. The latter Kind excited the Curiosity of an *Indian* so far, that I saw him industriously employed near an Hour, in the Collection of about a dozen Pounds which he carefully packed away in his Paint-bag.

July —. Took our leave of this Place at about 10 o'Clock, and by 4 in the Evening arrived at, and passed through *Washington*, a small Township situate on the South Side of *Oguechee* River, at the upper End of the Falls, and moved on to another little Town about a Mile below it on the North Side, at the mouth of the Falls. I had only a transient View of these little Towns, which appeared to have been very lately erected; a Description therefore cannot be expected. At Sunset, encamped about half a Mile from the Road, convenient to a Spring, on whose little Stream, our Horses met with most delightful tender virgin Cane. Here I undertook to teach *Turvin* the *Lord's Prayer*, which he soon learned,

having

having, as he said, had some little Smattering of it before he went to the *Creek* Nation and married a damn'd Heathen.—After a short Repose in order to avoid the sultry Heat of Noon, we arose, collected our Horses, and pursued our Journey till 10 o'Clock the next Day, when we halted and refreshed ourselves and Nags till 3. At 5 o'Clock we passed the Battle Ground where *Turvin* had been defeated by the *Creeks*, previous to our War with *Britain*. The Recollection of former Disasters rendered him somewhat phlegmatic; but when at 6 we came in Sight of the House in which he had been born and raised to Man's Estate, and from which he had been driven

*His lab'ring Breast inton'd a fullen Moan,
“ And Melancholy mark'd him for her own.”*

What's the Matter my Friend, you appear to be melancholy? Oh! no Nothing, in particular:—I was thinking about some Parts of the *Lord's Prayer*. What Parts my Friend? Why, that Part where it says “*as we forgive them that trespass against us,*” its very good I agree, but by *G-d* I don't think it will ever be in my Power to comply with it.

Encamped within 15 Miles of *Augusta*, the Metropolis of *Georgia*, and entered it early the next morning.—Here my Friend *Turvin* and

and I separated, with mutual Expressions of Regret, and solemn Assurances of lasting Friendship, and future Remembrance. He wished me Health, Peace and Competence, and advised that whenever I should encamp in the Woods, always to raise a good Fire, and sleep with my Feet next to it. I wished him the like, and recommended to his particular Attention the *Lord's Prayer*, as the best Directory that was ever given to man.

The Soil, from *Pensacola* to *Augusta*, except upon the Water Courses where it is very fertile wears the gloomy Face of uniform Sterility; tho' being in a mild Region, is more Productive than Ground of a similar Appearance in *Virginia*.—I was much pleased with *Augusta* and its high level Situation, but more so with her Citizens and the reputable Families in its Vicinage. Previous to my Arrival here I was told by common *Fame*, that a great proportion of them consisted of insolvent *Refugees* from the northern States: but this is not the only Instance in which her Ladyship hath deviated from the Line of Truth and Candour. Influenced by some Nabobs in the *Modern Colchis*, she hath also misrepresented the whole State of *Georgia*, together with all Persons and Things whatsoever, unto her belonging or in any wise appertaining.

A wonderful Spirit for Building seems to have permeated every Rank and Class of People in and about this Place—A fine elegant Bridge of superior Strength to any of its Size I ever saw, stretches itself over the noble River *Savannah*, right abreast of the Town, where it is navigable for Vessels of 50 or 60 Tons Burthen. The Bridge, together with many fine Houses now erected and erecting here and in its Neighbourhood, do honor to *Augusta*, which will e're long vie with, if not eclipse the former Seat of Government, in Buildings, Population, Trade and Commerce.—The *Augustians* are remarkable for their Generosity and Politeness, the Effects of which, I as a Stranger particularly experienced, at the Hands of two professional Gentlemen, Meffrs *Smelt & Williamson*.—During my Continuance in this Neighbourhood, I paid a Visit to his Excellency *William Telfair*, the present Governor of the State. He appeared to be a worthy honest Man, endowed with plain good Sense and great Simplicity of Manners. I am told that he is an Encourager of Agriculture and Mechanics, a good Moralist and bounteous Benefactor to the meritorious Poor and Indigent. After having spent an agreeable Time at this Place, in the Society of both old and new Acquaintance, I proceeded down the River in a long Keelbottomed decked Boat, laden with 72 Hogsheads

Hogsheads of Tobacco, and several Thousand Pounds Weight of various Kinds of Peltry, &c. This Boat had a decent Cabin sufficiently large for the Accommodation of the Captain and myself.

Just below *Augusta* large extensive Corn and Tobacco Fields commence, and from their Luxuriance of Growth, evince the amazing Fertility of Soil. On *Beech Island* and the Plantations of Messrs *Bugg* and *Watkins*, I saw Cornfields of equal, if not superior Growth and Production, to the best Spots in *Kentuckey*. On the 4th Day of our Passage from *Augusta*, we anchor'd abreast of *Ebenezer*, an old inconsiderable and declining Village, situate on an high commanding Bluff, on the *Georgian* Side, from whence runs off a great Extent of level, tho' very sandy, piney barren Land—Here the *British* Troops, whilst in Possession of *Savannah* in 1779, established a Garrison of about 1500 Men, aided by a good Train of Artillery, strong Fortifications and deep Intrenchments, which however were no Impediment to the rapid Career of General *Wayne*, at the Head of his victorious Myrmidons.

At Break of Day weighed Anchor and proceeded down to a Col. *M---e's* on the North Side of the River, in Order to land some Dry Goods for a neighboring Gentleman. Previous

ous to my Arrival at his House, the Captain had given me a particular Detail of his punitory Inflections, on the Tories and others during the last War, all which he carried on under the specious Pretext of his being a Whig-Officer in the *American* Service ; tho' in Fact nothing more than a common Free-booter. I shall ever remember the Voice and patibulary, *Cain-like* Countenance of the Man, when the Captain introduced him to me. Tho' he is very uxorious of his present Spouse, and tender of her Offspring, yet common Report does not hesitate to say, that he dispatched his former Wife and only Son, by a Bowl of strong and deadly Poison, which he imposed upon them as a Dose of *Indian* Physic.

" A Rugged Wight the worst of Brutes this Man
 " On his own Fellow-Creatures ruthless prey'd :
 " The strongest he, the weakest over-ran
 " And o'er each Band of Brother-Robbers sway'd ;
 " For Guile and ruffian Force were all his Trude :
 " His Life a Scene of Rapine, Want and Woe ;
 " Swift as an Indian Arrow Blood to fled
 " And cause the Orphan's, Widow's Tears to Flow."

—O R T H U S :—

I

Dame Nature once produc'd a Dunce,
 Her plastic Art to shew,
 And o'er his Head, replete with Lead,
 A brazen Helmet threw.

2

With solid Block from Mountain Rock,
 Hew'd out with little Art,
 She tho't the best, to fill his Chest,
 And represent a Heart.

Thus

3

Thus Head and Heart, she did impart,
 Adapted to the Size.
 Of this huge Breast, who stands confest,
 A Bug-bear to our Eyes.

4

His Wife and Son, he first feiz'd on,
 And soon depriv'd of Breath;
 His tortur'd Slaves next found their Graves,
 And seal'd their Woes in Death.

5

The Tory Herd next felt his Sword,
 Distain'd with Human Gore;
 And heard the Cry of Traitor die,
 Beneath the Hand of M---e.

July 20th. Early in the Morning weighed Anchor, and took a final Adieu of this Son of Iniquity.—Before the dread Tribunal of *Almighty God* he must e're long appear, and receive his final Doom..... May the *Lord* have Mercy on his Soul!..... At Noon we passed a small and almost depopulated Town, on the North Side of the River, called *Purifburg*, which was once to *Savannah*, what *German-Town* is now to *Philadelphia*. Late in the Evening of this Day, our Pilot run our Vessel aground, opposite to the Seat of the late Major General *Greene*, where we continued until 4 o'Clock P. M. of the succeeding Day, when with Difficulty we got afloat, by the Assistance of the General's Slaves,

Here begin on both Sides of the River very extensive Fields of Corn, Rice and Indigo, convenient to which are Mills, Vats, &c. to manufac-

manufacture the Produce:—but when I turn my View toward the numerous Herds of poor miserable Slaves, whose Powers of Body are worn down amidst Stripes and Insults, in clearing Woods and draining Marshes, my very Soul revolts and sickens at the Thought.

Many and sharp the num'rous Ills
 Inwoven with our Frame !
 More pointed still we make ourselves,
 Regret, Remorse and Shame.
 And Man, whose Heav'n-erected Face
 The Smiles of Love adorn,
 Man's Inhumanity to Man
 Makes countleſs Thouſands mourn !
 See yonder poor o'er-labour'd Wight
 So abject, mean, and vile,
 Who begs a Brother of the Earth,
 To mitigate his Toil ;
 And fee his lordly *Fellow-Worm*
 The poor Petition ſpurn
 Unmindful, tho' a weeping Wife
 And helpless Offſpring mourn !
 Oh Death ! the poor Man's deareſt Friend,
 The kindeſt and the beſt :
 Welcome the Hour my aged Limbs
 Are laid with thee at Reſt !
 The Great, the Wealthy fear thy Blow,
 From Pomp and Pleaſure torn ;
 But oh ! a bleſt Relief to thoſe
 That weary-laden mourn.

Burn's Poems.

From this Place to *Savannah*, the Eye is delighted with a continued Succession of beauteous Farms and elegant Buildings, inhabited by gay and liberal Proprietors, who in general appear to be of French Extraction.—Came abreast of the City about 8 o'Clock at Night, and altho' denied the Light of Moon or Star,

yet

yet a tall white sandy Bluff attiguous to the public Wharf, served as a Pharos to direct our Vessel safely into Port.

Early the next Morning took Breakfast, and engaged Lodgings at the City Coffee House, and then sauntered till 10 o'Clock thro' the most public Parts of the City, in order to see, or be seen by, some old Friend or Crony, who might probably be engaged upon a similar and equally important Business with myself. To my great Joy, the first Person that saluted me was Col. *Joseph Haberham*, a Gentleman who in the Course of the last War, had been a *Refugee* in the County of *Amherst*, where I then resided, and got acquainted with him.—He is a Gentleman of strict Honor and Integrity, a safe Companion, and an easy Friend, and tho' a Mortal, he cannot be altogether exempt from the Failings of Humanity, yet few and trivial as they are, they always '*lean to Virtue's Side*' By this Gentleman I was introduced to General *M'Intosh*, with whom I had been formerly acquainted, whilst on his Way to join the grand Army in the North. As an Officer he is too generally known to require any Encomium from my Pen ; but as a private Citizen is a most excellent Model for the State. He is descended from a very antient Family in *Scotland*. His Father who was a famous Chieftain

Chieftain of a numerous Highland Clan, and remarkable for his Valour, and that rare Virtue in a Soldier, called Temperance, fell in Battle, whilst our Hero was yet a Minor, and bequeathed those Virtues to his Son, with an Injunction on him to settle in *America* as soon as he should attain the Age of 21. His Mother whose Christian Name was *Fortune* did not long survive her Husband. On her Death-bed, she called our Hero to her (for he was her favourite Son) and thus addressed him :—" My Son the Patrimony which my honoured Husband and your valiant Father left you, may be of Service to you, in the *Hurly Burly* Scenes of blustering War, it is therefore my Request, that you never part with them :--but as when you come to be old, you may exchange the Army for the peaceful Walks of Life, I here deliver into your Possession for a Beginning, all my Dower, consisting of two faithful Handmaids named *Industry* and *Frugality*—Take them my Son, and use them well—they'll be of Service to you, whether you go to *America* or continue here ; tho' my Advice is to obey your Father's last Request."—Blessed with a vigorous Constitution and a virtuous Education, our Hero crossed the *Atlantic* and settled in the State of *Georgia*, bringing along with him his paternal and maternal Legacies. By Means of the former he rose to high Preferment
in

in the United States Army; and by the latter hath accumulated an almost immense and princely Fortune.

In this Place I spent 3 Days, chiefly at the Houses of the two last mentioned Gentlemen. Being much relaxed by Fatigue and Heat of Weather, I declined taking such an accurate View of the City, as I at first intended. It is however happily situated for both foreign and internal Trade, as verging on the Atlantic to the East, and lying about Midway on the inland Navigation, which extends from *Charleston* to *St. Mary's* River, the Southern Extremity of the United States.

Savannah is, and ever will be, a Place of Opulence, so long as human Nature shall require Food and Raiment, or, Commerce spread her Canvass to the Wind.

July—About 2 o'Clock P. M. went on Board a large Packet Schooner, bound to *Charleston*, and commanded by a Captain *Ross*, in Company with Major *Butler*, a Congressional Senator, Mr. — a *Charleston* Merchant and Miss — of *Savannah*. In this Company I promised myself a pleasant Passage enlivened with agreeable Conversation, in which however I was miserably disappointed; for no sooner had we put to Sea, than squally Weather

ther and adverse Winds arose, and so tost and rock'd our Vessel, that "we reeled to and fro and staggered like drunken Men, and were at our Wit's End."—In this Situation we continued till 10 o'Clock the following Day. The Agitation of the Vessel brought on a violent Sea sickness upon all the Passengers except myself, and lasted with little Intermission, till we made the wished for Port of *Charleston*—Between the Paroxysms of the Major's Qualms, I found him to be a lively converfable Gentleman, possessed of a great Fund of Wit, sound Judgment, and good Breeding.—The last Morning of our Passage, I saluted the Merchant with, a good Morning to you Sir, how does Mr. — find himself to day? Why Sir; I have cast up my Accounts over and over again, and find myself, upon striking a Balance, a better Man by an Hundred Per Cent, than I was this Time Yesterday, He! He! He! And pray how does Miss — find herfelf? *I thank you Sir, I'm inclin'd to believe I think I feel a little better at the Stummick.*

August 1st. Entered *Charleston* about two o'Clock P. M. and immediately repaired to *M'Cradys* Hotel, which I had been told was, and found to be superior to any other in the City, whether for its Accommodations, the Civility of its Master, or, the amazing Concourse

course of polite People from all the other States who frequent it. At this Hotel General *Washington* on his late Visit through the Southern States took up his Residence, and during which Persons of all Ranks vied with each other in paying every Homage to him, which Gratitude could excite, and splendid Tables, Garb and Equipage attest.

The Situation of *Charleston*, the Character of her Citizens and the Nature of her Police fit her for Trade and Commerce, which however are not driven to that Extent as is observable in some Northern Towns which do not possess the third Part of her Opulence. The Topography of this City, is too generally known to require any Description from my Pen. I shall therefore only observe that in Point of Prospect, it eclipses all other Cities in the Union and is inferior to only Three in Size, Wealth, Population, Trade and Elegance of Buildings. Her Citizens are a gay, luxurious People, fond of Drefs and pompous Equipage, in which they give the Ton to *Augusta* and *Savannah*, who are most excellent Copyists. Was the young *Phaeton* of this State with his servile Imitators, to repair to *Charleston*, he would be to the Gentry there, what his Imitators *here*, are to him.

At *McCady's* I formed an Intimacy with *Andrew Robertson*, Esq; who had been a Captain

tain in the *British* Service, which he quitted upon an honorable Connexion with a *Staten Island* young Lady of most exquisite Beauty. The debonair and manly Appearance of young *Robertson* attracted the Attention of the young Lady, which he improved by his Affiduity, and most excellent good Sense. Altho' Miss was strongly fortified by Whiggism, yet she was ultimately obliged to succumb to the Prowess of the young Officer, and about a Year ago became his Bride. This Gentleman is nearly related to the celebrated *Robertson*, Author of the History of the Reign of *Charles* the Fifth, Emperor of *Germany*, and under whose plastic Hand he received the Rudiments of that liberal Education, which so eminently distinguish and adorn his Character. From this Place I paid a Visit to Col. *William Washington*, whom I found in Company with my old Preceptor the Rev. Mr. *Wilson*. They were seated opposite to each other, about 5 Feet asunder, separated by two Wine Glasses and a Decanter of generous old *Madeira*. Upon my Entrance into the Room, after the first Gratulations and mutual Professions of Friendship were over, a third Glass and another Decanter (as if by Enchantment) made their Appearance on the Table, and the Duumvirate was soon converted into a Triumvirate by the Addition of their humble Servant. Here gentle Reader, let me whilst

whilst Friendship and the generous Glass expand my Heart, detain thee, with what Gratitude commands, in listening to my humble Eulogy of *Washington*. 'Twas just after *Hamer's* Defeat that these Thoughts occurred.

Young Washington a former Friend in Need,
I view him mounted on his gen'rous Steed ;
The Foe he views with circumspective Care,
Cries Havoc ! and lets slip the Dogs of War :
His smoking Horses at their utmost Speed
He lashes on and urges o'er the Dead :
Their Fetlocks run with Blood and when they bound,
The Gore and gath'ring Dust are dash'd around.

Every Body is, or ought to be, acquainted with the Brilliancies of this Gentleman as an Officer and Soldier:—extraordinary as they are, his mild engaging Virtues in the peaceful Walks of Domestication, and in Society of Friends, keep an equal Pace with his military Talents, and draw from his admiring Countrymen, the Plaudits of Sincerity.

Ravish'd with Wars and Danger's horrid Charms,
He with impetuous Ardour flew to Arms :
Soon as the rang'd Battalions came in Sight }
He felt fierce Joy and terrible Delight, }
And shudder'd with an Eagerneſs to fight. }
What Flames flew from his Eyes, when he from far
View'd the four Brows, and murdering Jaws of War !

—OR THUS.—

-----rough in Battle
As the first Romans when they went to War ;
Yet after Victory more pitiful,
Than all their praying Virgins left at Home.

DRYDEN.
August

August 6th. Returned to my Lodgings where I found Capt. *Robertson* under Preparation for a Duel with Capt. *Sweetman*, an *English Gentleman* and Merchant.—I acted as a Mediator betwixt them, and happily terminated the Dispute to their mutual Satisfaction, by decreeing, that they both possessed indubitable Courage, which was often called into Action by their too punctilious Adherence to the military Character; for which their respective Countries had for many Centuries been so remarkable, and contributed equally with ancient *Greece* and *Rome*, to give the historic Pen a just and full Employ—That inheriting these national Principles, what they had done, might be fairly traced up to the Source of an *Amor Pugnandi*:—That Capt. *Sweetman* had been too precipitate and Capt. *Robertson* too hasty:—that they therefore make their reciprocal Concessions, and be at Peace; and that neither might infringe the Punctilios of military Etiquette, they should stand 10 Yards asunder, then advance to the Centre, make their Concessions at the same Instant, *protruding their dextral Hands, until they came into Contact*, as an Indication and Declaration of a Continuation of *Pacification*: that they should then repair to the Hotel and take a *Compotation of a late Importation from the Madeira Plantation, in Corroboration of the aforesaid Pacification.*

Quicquid

Quicquid volumus facile credimus—The Duellist wishes to defend his Conduct. I will here transcribe the Sentiments of a modern Author upon the Subject of Duelling, which he observes, has in many Countries a Law against it—but can never be prevented. The Law can inflict no greater Penalty for any Breach of it than Death; which the Duellist contemns—There are also some Cases of Injury which the Law cannot prevent, nor punish when committed. These must be redressed by the Man who suffers, and by him ONLY. He is prompted to do this by something antecedent, and superior to all Law, and by a Desire as eager as Hunger or Lust; so that it is as easy for Law to prevent or restrain the two latter, as the former. Very luckily for us Occasions for the Gratification of this Passion occur but seldom: and though a Man may be restrained from a Duel by personal Fear, which is its only Counteractor, there are very few Instances, perhaps none of its being prevented by considering it as a Breach of Law. In the Beginning of the last Century Duels were so frequent, particularly in *France*, as to occasion a severe Edict to prevent them—Indeed by their Frequency, they were by Degrees improved into Combats of 2, 3, and sometimes more of a Side—In those Days a French Nobleman was making up his Party to decide a

Quarrel

Quarrel with another Man of equal Rank ; it came to the Ears of the King, who sent to him one of the most rising Men at Court, with a Command to desist, assuring him of the strict Execution of the Edict in Case of Disobedience—Every one knows the Attachment of the *French* to their Sovereign, but yet it proved weak when set against this all-powerful Passion. The Nobleman not only refused to obey the King, but actually engaged the Messenger to be one of his Party.—The above seem to be the principal Reasons why Dueling has so deep a Root in the Mind of Man—but there are others which come in Aid. The Desire of Superiority is of itself almost sufficient to produce this great Effect.

Having spent an agreeable Time among these gay and hospitable Citizens, I took my Departure on Board the *Exchange* Schooner, the Property of Capt. *Robertson*, and commanded by Capt. *Baine* ; her Destination was to *St. Mary's* River in Quest of Live-Oak.

A *Bostonian* of the Name of *James Foote*, had contracted with the Captain to work his Passage from *Charleston*, via *St. Mary's* to *New-York*. He appeared to be about 50 Years of Age, and extremely anxious to see his Wife and five Children, whom he had left in *Boston* about a Year before I saw him.

He

He had been detained by Sicknes. On the second Day of our Passage, being as yet in a State of Convalescence, he expressed in his Words and Actions a fixed Melancholy, approaching to a State of Desperation. 'Twas about 2 o'Clock in the Morning, when Mr. Foote, to court the cooling Breeze, had seated himself upon the Quarter Deck and received an accidental Stroke from the Tiller on his Head.—He rose up and exclaimed, *My God, My God, I cannot bear it all!* and quickly disappeared.—I sincerely regret, that when I saw him melancholy and despondent, I had not spoken to him—I might probably have said Something to him, or done Something for him, that might have sooth'd the Anguish of his Soul, and by exciting Hope, have chased the gloomy Daemon from his Breast, and caused the poor despairing Mortal yet to live. This Voyage is ususually performed in about 4 Days, though through the Inadvertency, or Ignorance of the Captain, we made it seven, having over-ran our Reckoning, and instead of *St. Mary's* sailed a considerable Distance up the *St. John's* River in *East-Florida*; when to our great Astonishment we were hailed by a *Spanish* Officer, who authoritatively demanded of us, if we knew where we were? We answer'd Yes; in *St. Mary's* River—Gentlemen I can assure you, that you are mistaken;

L

you

you are now in the Dominions of *Spain*, and have risqued the Forfeiture of your Vessel and Cargo, together with that of your Liberties. However you are welcome to depart—*St. Mary's* River the Place of your Destination, lies about 6 Leagues to the Eastward of this. We thanked the Officer, instantly put about, and in 5 Hours reached the Mouth of *St. Mary's*, cast Anchor, and waited the Approach of a Pilot.—On our Entrance into this fine River, I observed the Remains of an old Fort, composed of *Portland* Stone, *Liverpool* Brick, and strong Cement, which, from its Exposure to the Sun and Wind, hath acquired a greater Durability than either the Brick or Stone. The Channel at the Mouth, which extends above an Hundred Yards in Width, is generally from 3 to 4 Fathom deep, and in no Part les than $2\frac{1}{2}$. We navigated a large Schooner deeply laden about 16 Miles up this River, and met with no Impediment whatever. A similiar Distance we run up the *St. John's*, previous to our Arrival here—I think in Width and Depth they are nearly on a Par. The *St. Mary's* is navigable for Sloops &c. about 60 Miles—Boats may proceed on as far as the Lake which feeds this Stream.—It is about 8 Miles long and 3 Miles wide, situate in the Centre of a very extensive Swamp, and distant about 150 Miles from the Ocean.

A
small

small Town of the same Name with the River, now in the early Dawn of Infancy, lies about 6 Miles up the Stream, where they have a Fort garrisoned by a Company of Fœderal Troops—The Evacuation of this Fort was talked of when I left the Place, in Order to strengthen the Garrison stationary on the *Oconee*.

Disappointed in having our Frieght of Live Oak in Readinesf, we had much Leisure on our Hands, which Capt *Robertson* and I resolved to appropriate to the Exploration of several Parts of *East-Florida*—For this Purpose we chartered a small keel bottomed Boat, and taking four Oars-men with us, proceeded along the inland Navigation, which leads directly to the Neighbourhood of *St. Augustine*, which however we were not permitted to enter, and received repeated Intimations, that a speedy Return to *St. Mary's* would argue the Height of *Prudence* in us, with which the Captain and I were by no means chargeable: For we had concerted no Plan or plausible Excuse by which we might elude the Vigilance or Jealousy of the *Spanish* Guarda Costas. *Robertson* carried in his Pocket, a Pencil and a small Book, in which he had made some rough Sketches of *Charleston* and *St. Mary's*. I wished his Book and

Pencil

Pencil had been in his----- Bureau. Our Oars-men who were much alarmed, raised a Blanket Sail, and plied the Oar with unremitting Assiduity, until we reached *St. Mary's*, which exclusive of the Fort already mentioned, boasts two Stores, and a Tavern under the Direction of a Captain *Kearns*, who is a sensible, intelligent Man, and furnishes superior Accommodations than what are generally obtained in populous Cities. The River abounds in Scale and Shell-Fish, all excellent in their Kind, and is often overshadowed by the Flight of numerous Flocks of Swans, Geese and Ducks. These aquatic Productions are perennial, and from the Facility with which they are taken, render the Inhabitants near the Water, extremely averse to agricultural Pursuits.

Having now explored the principal Parts of *West* and had a cursory View of *East-Florida*, I am induced to hazard my Opinion founded on Observation as to the former, and on Conjecture as to the latter. This I shall do by a Quotation from *Guthrie's Grammar*, which conveys my Sentiments. "The Air of both *East* and *West-Florida* is pure and wholesome—The Size, Vigor, and Longevity of the *Floridian Indians*, in these Respects, far exceed their more Southern Neighbours
the

the *Mexicans*:”—and I think Propriety may add, with few Exceptions, their Northern Neighbours too.—The Soil of the *Floridas*, is in general sandy, especially near the maritime Coasts, tho' far from being unfruitful.—It produces two Crops of *Indian Corn* a Year, and Garden Vegetables in great Perfection and Abundance. Without Cultivation the Orange and Lemon Trees attain a proper Size, and produce a large and highly flavoured Fruit. The interior Country is hilly, and on the Flats adjoining, extremely rich and fertile, producing spontaneously, and in great Luxuriance, similar Fruits, Vegetables and Gums with *Georgia* and the *Carolinas*; as also Rice, Indigo, Ambergrise, Cochineal, Amethysts, Lapis Lazuli, and other precious Stones; Copper, Quicksilver, Pit-Coal and Iron-Ore.

Pearls are found upon the Coasts—and Mahogany on the Southern Peninsula, but inferior in Size and Quality to that of *Jamaica*.—The Animal Creation here, are incredibly numerous.—What I have here advanced, must be taken under some Limitation; as in applies *in toto* and positively to *East*, and only in Part to *West-Florida*.

Milton's Ode on May Morning, often occurred to my Recollection, whilst traversing these

these delightful Regions, dressed out by the Hand of Nature, with Flowers selected from her Lap.

ODE.

Now the bright Morning Star, Day's Harbinger,
Comes dancing from the East, and leads with her
The flow'ry May, who from her green Lap throws,
The yellow Cowslip, and the pale Prim-rose.
Hail! bounteous May that does inspire
Mirth and Youth and warm Desire:
Woods and Groves are of thy Dressing,
Hill and Dale doth boast thy Blessing:
Thus we salute thee with our early Song
And welcome thee and wish thee long.

Here as I am on the extreme Southern Verge of the United States, and in a similar Latitude with the Place where I promised to subjoin a Catalogue of medicinal Plants, Herbs, &c. I will attempt a Compliance.

WHITE WALNUT. *Juglans alba*. The Greeks make a strong Decoction from the Bark of this Tree, and use it both as a Cathartic and a Dye. In the former, they dulcify it with a little Honey, or the Syrup from the Sugar-Maple—It is very drastic in its Operation, and therefore administered with great Caution.

BLACK POPLAR. *Populus nigra*. Large Potions of a Decoction from the Bark of this Tree, especially the Root, is a sovereign Antidote

tidote to the Bite of the *Rattle-Snake* and other Serpents—I was informed of this by General *Clarke*, whilst in *Kentuckey*, who had seen its salutary Effects on five different Soldiers under his Command. The constant Use the *Indians* make of it on similar Occasions, corroborates the General's Assertion.

DOGWOOD. *Cornus Florida.* The pulverized Bark of this Tree, is cooling, drying, astringent and stomachic, and appropriated to similar Purposes among the *Creeks* that *Jesuits* Bark is among us, and for which it is a most excellent Substitute.

T H E CASSINE is a low umbrageous Tree: the Flower of which is patent, divided into five suboval, obtuse Segments larger than the Cup; the Fruit is a roundish Berry with three Cells, containing solitary suboval Seeds—'Tis from the Leaves of this Tree, which are serrated and terminating in a Point, the *Creeks* make their *Black Drink*, of which they swallow copious Draughts, whenever they convene in their Square or Hot-House, and which holding themselves erect, they as copiously regurgitate. I am unacquainted with its medicinal Virtues, if it has any.—It is used by the *Spaniards* as a Tea and has a superior Flavour to the *Green, Bohea, or Souchong.*

SASSA-

SASSAFRAS. *Laurus Sassafras.* A yellow odiferous Wood, of a brisk, aromatic Scent, somewhat resembling *Fennel*; being the Produce of a Tree, of which there are whole Forests growing in the *Floridas*, as well as in this State. The principal Virtue lies in the Bark, which warms, dries, rarifies, attenuates, attracts and promotes Sweats and Urine. The Indians decoct and use it in all venerial Complaints, and I am told with great Success.

ELDER. *Sambucus nigra.* The *Creeks* decorticate the Stalk, and use the Bark in pectoral Decoctions. Sir *William Temple* extols it as a Medicine in dropsical Complaints. The *Creeks* express the Juice, and use it as a Lotion in Burns, Scalds and scabious Complaints.

SUMAC. *Rhus.* Applied to the first Purpose as mentioned of the *Elder*, as also to the Use of smoking with *Tobacco*.

POKE. *Phytolacca decandra.* The *Creeks* collect the Berries whilst in a greenish State, express the Juice, and expose it to the Sun until it coagulates, this they use in Plasters over scharrous Sores, or to extract Briars, Thorns, &c. from their Hands and Feet.—I have known it to be used in extracting the Claws or Roots of Cancers, &c.

ASH. *Fraxinus Americana*. A Decoction from the Root of prickly *Ash*, is a good Purgative and Lotion in a confirmed Lues; and as such is used by the *Creeks*.

JUNIPER. *Juniperus*. An Infusion of the Berries of this Tree, in Water or Spirits, is stomachic, expels Wind, clears the Lungs, provokes the Menses and removes Obstructions of the Viscera.

LOBELIA. With a Decoction of the Root of this Plant, the *Creeks* cure the Venereal Disease in every Stage. It usually grows in Meadows, and on the fat low-Grounds of Rivers, Creeks, &c. It has a beauteous crimson monopetalous Flower, and in Property is somewhat tingent. The Fruit is an oval Capsule, containing a great Number of very small Seeds. The Decoction is usually dulcified with Honey, which is a great Apperient. The Operation is by Stool, Urine, Sweat and Expectoration, all in a constant, though moderate Degree. Vide *Buchan* on a confirmed Lues, from the Beginning of Page 598 to the end of the Page following.

SERPENTARIA *Virginiana*, is an alexipharmacic and sovereign Remedy or Antidote against the Bite of the *Rattle-Snake*.—The different species of *Serpentaria* or *Snake-root*,

M are

are universally known throughout the United States, by all Ranks of People. The Kind I allude to, is what is popularly called *Rattle-Snake Root*, which from its strong aromatic Smell, the *Rattle-Snake* will never approach, and is accordingly used by the *Indians* to banish *that* and other Serpents from their Lodgments.

VALERIAN, *Valeriana Sylvestris*, *Ex Verbo valere*. It is warm and aromatic, but somewhat foetid in its Scent. The *Indians* use it in nervous Disorders. Its Efficacy as a Sudorific, is supported by the Testimony of both antient and modern Practice.

ANGELICA. *Angelica Sylvestris*. Is used as a Luxury in Smoking and Chewing.

ANATA. Is a Shrub of about five Feet high, bearing a red Flower, which the *Creeks* infuse in Water or decoct. With this Infusion or Decoction, they dye their Leggens, Moccasons, Feathers, Belts, and other ornamental Parts of Dres.

The *Seminolies* who are connected with the *Creeks*, are said, though more unpolished in their Manners, to have a greater Knowledge in Botany, than their more Northern or Western Brethren.

Sept,

Sept.—Weighed Anchor, left St. Mary's, entered the Gulph Stream, and after a Passage of Thirteen Days, reached the City of *New-York*; where, and in its Vicinage I continued about a Fortnight, experiencing Nothing more than common Civility from the Citizens.—The City of *New-York* is situate on *Manhattan Island*; being a large handsome, and populous Place; where there is an excellent Harbour, furnished with commodious Quays and Ware-houses, from whence numerous Ships and other Vessels are annually employed in its foreign Trade and Fisheries.

Passed on in the New-York Packet Schooner to *Brunswick*, the Metropolis of *New-Jersey*, where I visited Col. *White*, who resides in this Place. He is a brave, generous, old, Continental Officer, and made a conspicuous Figure on the Theatre of the last *American War with Britain*. At this Place and in New-York, Messieurs *Paine*, *Chevallie*, *Higbee*, *Laurence*, and *Griffin*. Gentlemen from *Virginia*, rendered me polite Attention and Assistance.—Gratitude shall impress a long Remembrance of them on the Tablet of my Heart. A young *Englishman* of the Name of *William Collier*, during my Indisposition at New-York, displayed

played a Line of Conduct towards me, which does Honour to his Country and to human Nature.

This Indisposition arose from the Bite of a Ground Rattle Snake, on the Margin of *St. Mary's* River, in which I had been bathing. This little Reptile is about Fourteen Inches long, and about as thick as a Man's little Finger. It conceals itself in the Dust, and makes its malignant Stroke on the unwary and unsuspecting Passenger, which is equally fatal with the Bite of the larger Rattle-Snake or Moccason, and requires as speedy and powerful Antidotes to its baneful injections of strong and deadly Poison.—Providentially for me, it made its Puncture on the Cuticle of my great Toe, at the Adhesion of the Nail, which prevented a general Diffusion of the Poison into my Vital Parts.

As I passed rapidly in the Stage through *Princeton* and *Trenton*, on my Way to *Philadelphia*, I must wave a Description of the two former, and slightly touch upon the latter, which is a large, populous and extensive Place, the Capitol and Emporium of *Pennsylvania*. In this charming City I continued ten Days, though unfortunately often confined

fined to my Room, from the Indisposition last mentioned. At Intervals of Ease, I could not refrain from strolling through various Parts of the City, which for its Size and Regularity is unequalled by any other in the Union, and probably not surpassed by any in Europe, as to the latter. Her Merchants are very wealthy, and her Citizens in general, from their Industry and Frugality, raised above the Frowns of Indigence, and many, though in humble, modest Garb, far above a Mediocrity of Fortune.

Voltaire's Account of Pennsylvania, often occurred to my Recollection, whilst encircled by the humane unambitious Citizens of *Philadelphia*. In a Groupe of Quakers I particularly observed an itenerant Preacher, whose Aspect was a good Index of the Temper and Disposition of Quakers in general.—I will attempt a Description of him, by some Quotations from, and Interpolations of, Mr. *Dryden's Parish Priest*.

The P R E A C H E R.

*A Quaker Preacher, of the Pilgrim Train :
An awful, rev'rend, and religious Man.
His Eyes deffus'd a venerable Grace,
And Charity itself was in his Face.*

Rich

Rich was his Soul, tho' his Attire was poor, }
 As God had cloth'd his own Ambassador ; }
 For such, on Earth, his blest Redeemer bore.
 Refin'd himself to Soul, to curb the Sense,
 And made almost a Sin of Abstinence.
 Yet had his Aspect nothing of severe,
 But such a Face as promised him sincere.
 Nothing reserv'd, or fullen was to see; }
 But sweet Regards, and pleasing Sanctity, }
 Mild was his Accent ; and his Action free.
 With Eloquence innate his Soul was arm'd ;
 Tho' harsh the Precept, yet the Preacher charm'd.
 He bore his great Commission in his Look :
 But sweetly temper'd Awe and soften'd all be spoke.
 From his slight Stock he had somewhat to spare,
 To feed the famish'd, and to cloath the Bare :
 And ever was at Hand without Request,
 To serve the Sick, and succour the Distrest.
 The Proud he tam'd, the Penitent he cheer'd,
 Nor to reprove the Rich Offender fear'd ;
 His Preaching much, but more his Practice wrought,
 (A living Sermon of the Truth he Taught.)
 With what he beg'd, his Brethren he reliev'd,
 And gave the Charities himself receiv'd :
 Gave, while he taught, and edify'd the more,
 Because he shew'd by Proof, 'twas easy to be poor.

In my Perambulations through Philadelphia, (whose Police is most excellent) I do not recollect ever to have seen a Beggar, or heard that Prophanity and Vulgarity of Expression, so common amongst the lower
 Clas

Class in all other populous Cities; but on the contrary, discovered all Ranks decently habited, with a Serenity of Countenance, mild Addrefs, and in Steady, though moderate Pursuit of their respective Vocations.

A minute Description of this City is both foreign to my Purpose, and beyond my KEN. I shall therefore only convey my Sentiments in a few Lines of doggrel Verse, on three Gentlemen who reside in this Place, and from whom I have recievied Favors and Polite Attention.

To HENRY KNOX, Esq. Secretary at War.

To EDMUND RANDOLPH, Esq. Attorney Gen.

To SAMUEL PLEASANTS, Esq. Merchant.

GENTLEMEN,

*FROM me this Letter you'll receive,
Th' Offspring of Affection,
Whilst I my highest Plaudits give
To your wise Election:*

For

*For who as Secretary could
In Competition vie
With Knox the gen'rous, brave and good?
Pale Envy answers—I.*

*And who with Randolph can Compare
In smooth Oratory
When e're he brightens up the Bar,
With sweet Mel in Ore.*

*There were two Men dame Candour said,
Who equal'd him I wis,
In Rome and Athens once they plead,
Tully and Demosth'nes.*

*Who can a nobler Work narrate
Than what Sam : Pleasants is
I must recur to antient Date
And quote Aristides.*

*Who th' Epithet of Just acquir'd
From his Intrinsic Worth;
Like him shall Pleasants be admired
For Honor, Justice, Truth—*

*By which I'm regulated when,
('Tis no Offence I hope)
I say you are three worthy Men
As e'er obliged——*

POPE.

104 *a*

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I am about to reprint on paper, of which this is a sample, and bind in cloth, for my own use, one copy of the rare book, of 104 pages, reprinted title of which may be seen by any one who takes the trouble to turn over this leaf. As it would not add much to the expense to print and bind another, I will for two dollars order one for you. This offer will be made to a considerable number of people in the hope that a sufficient number of books may be bespoken to materially diminish the cost to me of my own. Only my own and those bespoken will be printed. Not one for sale. Probably some few people who will not hear of it until it is too late to secure one will want to buy a copy, but they must not expect to buy mine.

Mr. Pope, who was evidently a man of brains and education and, it seems, had been an officer in the Revolution, left home 1st June, 1790, and in September, 1791—more than fifteen months after—started homeward from St. Mary's by way of New York and Philadelphia. In his travels he met and enjoyed more or less intercourse with Alexander McGillivray, then Governor of the Indian Territory; Col. John Thornton of Culpeper County, Colonels Zane and Thruston, who resided near Newtown; Gen. Morgan at Winchester, General Washington's brother, Charles, and a sister; Generals Gates and Stephen, Messrs. Robert Rutherford, David Gray and Moses Hunter, a Mr. Thomas Fooley of Maryland, who seems to have had two too many letters in his name, H. H. Breckenridge, Pedro Foucher, Commandant at New Madrid, Capt. Swaine, Governor Gayoso, at Natchez, Don Granfrey, Don Miro, Spanish Viceroy at New Orleans, Major Fairlamb, Don Arturio O'Neil, Governor of West Florida; The Little King of the Broken Arrow, who made a speech, which is given, and furnished a Creek vocabulary which fills more than a page; Mr. John Turnvin, then living with the Creeks; Major Call, Capt. Rudolph, Lieut. Martin, Ensign Clay, Governor Telfair, a Col. Moore in Georgia, who is described as a particularly obnoxious individual; Joseph Habersham, and Gen. McIntosh at Savannah, Capt. Ross, Major Butler, Col. Wm. Washington, Gen. George Rogers Clarke, with whom, as with some of those before mentioned, he had been previously acquainted, and at Charleston his former preceptor, Rev. Mr. Wilson. A catalogue of medicinal plants of the extreme Southern States fills nearly five pages.

CHARLES L. WOODWARD,

78 NASSAU STREET,

NEW YORK.

D. P.
D.

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